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CONTENTS

ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

Walesa Demands Troop Withdrawal From Poland *[Warsaw PAP]* 1
Hungary Wants Soviet Troops Out by 1991 *[AFP]* 1
Moiseyev Speaks At Vienna Seminar on Doctrines *[TASS]* 1
Austrian Paper Covers Speech *[Vienna DIE PRESSE 17 Jan]* 2
'Defensive' Doctrine Outlined *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 18 Jan]* 2
Arms Negotiator Cited on Vienna Talks *[TASS]* 4
General on Need for Chemical Weapons Ban *[TASS]* 5
Progress Toward Nuclear-Free World Viewed *[PRAVDA 14 Jan]* 5

COMMUNIST RELATIONS

Paper Interviews Ryzhkov on Future of CEMA *[TASS]* 9
Writer Contends 'New Era' for CEMA Possible *[LITERATURNAYA GAZETA 17 Jan]* 9

WORLDWIDE ISSUES

TASS Reports on Perfilyev's 18 Jan Briefing 11
Force Reduction in Vietnam 11
CSSR Troop Withdrawal Talks 11
GDR's Fischer To Visit 11
Najibullah's Shura Proposal 11
Release of Iranian, Iraqi POW's 12
'Concern' for Lebanese Situation 12
Shevardnadze Reviews Overall European Process *[IZVESTIYA 19 Jan]* 12
Continued Reportage on Environmental Forum 16
Lukyanov, Finnish Premier Confer *[PRAVDA 18 Jan]* 16
Shevardnadze, UN Heads Meet *[TASS]* 16
Gorbachev Congratulates Perez de Cuellar *[TASS]* 16
Prospects For Helsinki-2 Conference Analyzed *[Balebanov on TASS]* 16
World Reaction to Transcaucasus Events Reported *[IZVESTIYA 18 Jan]* 17

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

United States & Canada

Shevardnadze, Nishanov Receive Senator Bentsen *[TASS]* 19
Karpov, U.S. Official Discuss Nonproliferation *[TASS]* 19
ABC TV Chiefs Meet PRAVDA's Frolov *[PRAVDA 18 Jan]* 19

China

Chinese Moves Toward 'Stability' Noted *[IZVESTIYA 17 Jan]* 19
Airline Official on Purchase of Soviet Plane *[Moscow International]* 20

Northeast Asia

Ulaanbaatar Protest of Command Economy Reported *[Moscow TV]* 20
Japan's Abe Comments on Talks With Gorbachev *[PRAVDA 17 Jan]* 20
Delegation Meets Lukyanov, Departs *[PRAVDA 18 Jan]* 22
Japan's Kaifu Countered on Perestroyka in Asia *[Golovnin on Moscow International]* 22
IZVESTIYA Previews Yeltsin Visit to Japan *[16 Jan]* 23
DPRK Ambassador Honored for Contribution *[Moscow International]* 23
Increase of Political Prisoners in ROK Reported *[Moscow International]* 24

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Philippines Referendum Said Ploy To Keep U.S Bases *[PRAVDA 15 Jan]* 24
Positions at Conference on Cambodia Surveyed *[IZVESTIYA 17 Jan]* 24
NHAN DAN Cited on Press Freedom Law *[PRAVDA 18 Jan]* 25

Near East & South Asia

Declaration of Emergency on Iran Border Defended *[Salgirov on Radio Peace and Progress]* 25
400 Muslims Leave Iran After Brief Reunion *[Tehran IRNA]* 26
Allegations of USSR-Syrian Tensions Refuted *[IZVESTIYA 18 Jan]* 26
Possible Solutions to Afghan Problem Examined *[Kuzmin on TASS]* 27
Soviet Proposal for Iran-Iraq Talks Discussed *[Batyev on Moscow International]* 27
Commentary Views Sudanese Policy Shifts *[Fedorov on Moscow International]* 28

Sub-Saharan Africa

'Expert' Recommends ANC Suspend Armed Struggle *[Moscow International]* 28

East Europe

Alia Hits 'Malicious Campaign' Against Albania *[PRAVDA 17 Jan]* 30
Gerasimov Denial *[IZVESTIYA 18 Jan]* 30
Claims of Incipient Change in Albania Examined *[IZVESTIYA 18 Jan]* 30
Tension Continues Over Bulgarian Turks *[IZVESTIYA 16 Jan]* 31
CSSR Premier Calfa Leaves CPCZ 18 Jan *[TASS]* 33
Prison Amnesty Leads to Crime Wave in CSSR *[TRUD 12 Jan]* 33
Antifascist Rally Held in East Berlin *[SELSKAYA ZHIZN 4 Jan]* 33
GDR Anti-STASI Protest Gets Out of Control 34
Modrow Acts To Quell Protest *[TRUD 17 Jan]* 34
Protest Rally Viewed *[IZVESTIYA 17 Jan]* 34
GDR Ponders 'Hard Road' to Economic Recovery *[PRAVDA 15 Jan]* 35
More on Hungarian Envoy Meeting Lukyanov *[IZVESTIYA 18 Jan]* 36
Estonian People's Front Delegation Visits Hungary *[Tallinn Radio]* 37
Holds Consultations *[Budapest MTI]* 37
Walesa Receives Invitation To Visit USSR *[TASS]* 37
Walesa Cited on Polish, Soviet Way Forward *[MOSCOW NEWS No 1]* 37
Moscow Party Delegation Arrives in Warsaw *[TASS]* 38
Poles Show 'Intolerance' by Closing Lenin Museums *[IZVESTIYA 18 Jan]* 38
Polish Miners' Wage Demands, Price Hikes Viewed *[PRAVDA 18 Jan]* 39
Ceaucescu's Son Nicu, Others Stand Trial *[TRUD 11 Jan]* 39
Romanian Economic Changes, Prospects Viewed *[IZVESTIYA 13 Jan]* 40
Academicians Assess Prospects for East Europe *[MOSCOW NEWS No 1]* 41
New East European Political Parties Viewed *[Grammatchikov on Moscow International]* 43

West Europe

Shevardnadze Receives FRG Charge d'Affaires Heyken *[TASS]* 43
Vorontsov, FRG Economic Minister Hold Discussion *[TASS]* 43
Voronin Leads Government Delegation to Paris *[TASS]* 44
Signs Cooperation Agreement *[TASS]* 44
Received by French Premier *[TASS]* 44
Relations Assessed Positively *[IZVESTIYA 18 Jan]* 44
Frolov Welcomes French CP Paper's Chief Editor *[PRAVDA 17 Jan]* 45
Receives British Ambassador *[PRAVDA 17 Jan]* 45
Reopening of French Embassy in Kabul Viewed *[IZVESTIYA 12 Jan]* 45
Athens Traders Deal in Smuggled Soviet Goods *[PRAVDA 17 Jan]* 46

Latin America & Caribbean

Gerasimov on Central American Developments *[TASS]* 47
Commentator Reaffirms Hopes for Tegucigalpa Summit *[Levchenko on Moscow International]* ... 47
U.S. Money Seen 'Sabotaging' Nicaragua Election *[PRAVDA 17 Jan]* 47
Secretary Baker's Panama Remarks Criticized *[Solovyev in SELSKAYA ZHIZN 6 Jan]* 48
Chile To Seek Worldwide Diplomatic Ties *[TASS]* 49

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Political & Social

All-Union Congress Continues 19 Jan 50
Gorbachev: Transcaucasus Situation Not Improving *[TASS]* 50
Complex Perestroyka Problems *[TASS]* 50
Speeches 'Much, Much Sharper' *[Moscow Radio]* 50
Gorbachev Commemorates Deaths *[Moscow Radio]* 51
Leadership Appeals to Azerbaijani, Armenian People *[Moscow TV]* 51
Yazov on Calling Reservists for Transcaucasus Duty *[TASS]* 52
Primakov Addresses Baku Rally, Stresses Restraint *[TASS]* 52
Rally Scene Described *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 19 Jan]* 52
Participants Criticize Media Coverage *[TASS]* 53
More on NKAO, Armenia Interethnic 'Clashes' *[TASS]* 53
'Azerbaijan People's Front' Ignores Appeals *[TASS]* 54
Armenian Refugee Flight from Baku Described *[TASS]* 55
Refugees Arrive in Moscow *[TASS]* 55
Frequent Transport, Power Stoppages in Yerevan *[Moscow Radio]* 55
Unregistered Groups in NKAO Disbanded *[TASS]* 56
MVD Gives 17 Jan Statistics on Azerbaijan, Armenia *[IZVESTIYA 19 Jan]* 56
Situation in Azerbaijan *[Moscow Radio]* 56
Transportation Standstill in Baku *[Baku Radio]* 57
24,000 MVD Troops Deployed *[TASS]* 57
MVD General on Militants *[TASS]* 58
Bakatin Assesses Transcaucasus 'Civil War' *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 18 Jan]* 58
Azeri People's Front Ignores Leadership Appeal *[Moscow TV]* 59
Azeri Official on Reasons for Baku Disturbances *[TASS]* 59
Baku Provocations Discussed *[TASS]* 60
Obedience to NKAO Emergency Decree Urged *[Kurasov in IZVESTIYA 19 Jan]* 60
Efforts To Assert Control Described *[IZVESTIYA 19 Jan]* 60
Article Urges End to Ethnic Violence *[Orlik in IZVESTIYA 16 Jan]* 62
Reporter Gives 'Bitter, Complex' News From Baku *[Moscow Radio]* 62
CBS Mum on Source of Transcaucasus Violence Film *[IZVESTIYA 19 Jan]* 63
Situation in NKAO 'Less Complex' 18 Jan *[Yerevan Radio]* 63
Committee Member Reviews Situation *[Yerevan Radio]* 64
Armenian Village Attacked From Nakhichevan *[Yerevan Radio]* 64
Armenia To Develop Megrinskiy Rayon *[ARMENPRES]* 65
NKAO Writers Publish Bimonthly Periodical *[ARMENPRES]* 65
NKAO Commandant on Abolished Artsakh Movement *[Baku Radio]* 65
News Conference Held at Azerbaijan Central Committee *[Baku Radio]* 65
Foreign Media Reports on NKAO, Armenia Situation 65
Soviet Authorities Issue Ultimatum *[AFP]* 65
Thousands Ready To Fight *[AFP]* 66
Armenian Official Warns of 'Extermination' *[Vienna KURIER 19 Jan]* 66
'Open Civil War' Seen *[Hamburg DPA]* 67
Azeri Officials Blame Armenia, Moscow *[Kuwait KUNA]* 67
Azerbaijan's Mutalibov Interviewed on Incidents *[Istanbul MILLIYET 11 Jan]* 68
Thousands of Azeris Enter Iran for Friday Prayers *[Tehran IRNA]* 69
Azerbaijani Helicopter Fired On In Lachin 5 Dec *[BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY 12 Dec]* 70
Lithuanian Social Democratic Party Registered *[Vilnius International]* 70
Independent Lithuanian CP 17 Jan Plenum Examined *[PRAVDA 18 Jan]* 70

More Reportage on 20th Lithuanian Party Congress 71
Truski Statement *[SOVETSKAYA LITVA 29 Dec]* 71
Berezov Press Conference *[SOVETSKAYA LITVA 22 Dec]* 72
Berezov Report *[SOVETSKAYA LITVA 22 Dec]* 73
Brazauskas Gives Political Report *[SOVETSKAYA LITVA 20 Dec]* 77
Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Presidium Meets 18 Dec *[SOVETSKAYA LITVA 19 Dec]* 90
Lithuanian Soviet Independence Committee Meets *[SOVETSKAYA LITVA 29 Dec]* 91
Lithuanian Plenum Discusses Party Status *[SOVETSKAYA LITVA 5 Dec]* 91
Lithuanian Party Draft Action Program *[SOVETSKAYA LITVA]* 105
RSFSR Miners' Complaints Remain Unresolved 111
Situation Discussed *[IZVESTIYA 9 Jan]* 111
Ryabev Heads Talks Delegation *[TASS]* 113
Ryabev-Miners Talks Held *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 17 Jan]* 113
More on Ryabev Deliberations *[Moscow Radio]* 114
18 Jan Moscow Rally To Urge Election Boycott 114
Organized by 'Democratic Alliance' *[Belgrade TANJUG]* 114
15 Arrested *[AFP]* 115
Abalkin On Reasons for Nationwide Meeting *[TASS]* 115
Supreme Soviet Deputy Says USSR Disintegrating *[Vienna DIE PRESSE 18 Jan]* 115
Turkmen Supreme Soviet Elects Niyazov Chairman *[Moscow Radio]* 116
Far East Development Requires Open Policy *[PRAVDA 16 Jan]* 116
Mordovia Sets Example of Interethnic Harmony *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 10 Jan]* 117

Economic

Caucasus State of Emergency Affects Rail System *[GUDOK 17 Jan]* 118
Higher Fines for Rail Freight Delays Announced *[PRAVDA 17 Jan]* 119
Delays in Unloading Grain Ships Fought *[IZVESTIYA 18 Jan]* 119
Reaction to Estonian Price Hikes Reported *[RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA 17 Jan]* 120

Scientific

Cosmos-2055 Satellite Launched 17 Jan *[TASS]* 121
Mir Cosmonauts Planning 26 Jan Spacewalk *[TASS]* 121
French Cosmonaut To Work at Mir Station *[TASS]* 121
Details on Decision To Move Ulyanovsk Radar *[Moscow Radio]* 122

Military

Norway Told of Fissile Materials in Sunken Sub *[Oslo AFTENPOSTEN 12 Jan]* 122
General on Changes in Training of Military Engineers
[East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG 10 Jan] 122
Complaints About Army Conditions Rebutted *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 16 Jan]* 123
Anxiety Over USSR Military Project on Border *[Budapest MTI]* 123
Independent Military Experts Group Formed *[Moscow TV]* 124

Walesa Demands Troop Withdrawal From Poland

LD1801223490 Warsaw PAP in English 2135 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Text] Gdansk, Jan. 18—Jaroslaw Kurski, Lech Walesa's press spokesman, handed over to PAP a communique concerning the Solidarnosc leader's meeting with Soviet Ambassador to Poland Vladimir Brovikov held here today.

The communique reads in part as follows:

The Solidarnosc chairman criticized the to-date relations between Poland and the Soviet Union and said that since September 17, 1939 they had been based on political domination of one side. He expressed the conviction that in the era of far-going reforms which were taking place in the two countries it was necessary to build these relations in a new way. In Lech Walesa's opinion necessary are the following conditions:

Explanation of the background of the Soviet aggression against Poland in September 1939,

Showing by the Soviet authorities places of burial of Polish officers murdered in April 1940 (which have not been found yet),

Explanation of the trial of the 16 leaders of underground Poland,

Compensation for sufferings of Polish citizens who lived in the borderland of the 2nd Polish Republic,

Guarantees of free cultural and tourist exchange, and in particular, the lifting of any restrictions concerning visits of families in the two countries,

The withdrawal of all Soviet troops stationing in Poland till the end of 1990. [as received]

Hungary Wants Soviet Troops Out by 1991

AU1801142390 Paris AFP in English 1412 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Vienna, Jan 18 (AFP)—The Hungarian Government on Thursday called for all Soviet troops to be pulled out of Hungary this year, or at the latest during 1991.

Secretary of State at the Foreign Affairs Ministry Ferenc Somogyi said the demand was made as part of the Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE) negotiations here in a bid to end a stalemate over Soviet troops stationed abroad.

The Kremlin began pulling out troops from Hungary last year, but Mr. Somogyi said between 50,000 and 60,000 were still stationed there.

Under Budapest's call, a withdrawal calendar has to be worked out "as soon as possible". A CFE meeting to draw up the calendar would take place in "the coming days", he told journalists.

The presence of Soviet troops in Hungary "is no longer justified for either political or military reasons," according to Budapest.

Mr. Somogyi's statement came after a similar call by Czechoslovakia.

The Czechoslovak Government has presented Moscow with a proposed timetable for a staged withdrawal of Soviet forces, currently numbering 80,000, which have been based in that country since the 1968 invasion. [passage omitted]

Poland's Solidarity leader Lech Walesa said Thursday that Soviet troops should leave the country by the end of the year. The Soviet Union has an estimated 40,000 troops stationed in Poland.

Moiseyev Speaks At Vienna Seminar on Doctrines

LD1601233490 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1501 GMT 16 Jan 90

[Excerpts] Vienna, 16 Jan—TASS correspondent Vladimir Smelov reports:

A seminar on military doctrines commenced work in the Hofburg Palace in Vienna today. It is being conducted on the initiative of the Warsaw Treaty member states, which was put forward at the Berlin conference of the Warsaw Treaty Organization Political Consultative Committee in 1987, and in agreement with an accord reached in the framework of the negotiations on measures to strengthen trust and security in Europe. [passage omitted]

Army General M.A. Moiseyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy minister of defense, spoke at the seminar. Guided by the new political thinking, he stated, the Soviet Union developed and, in 1987, put into operation a new, defensive, military doctrine. It is a reflection of the realities of the present watershed phase in world development—a phase, the logic of which has brought to the forefront, among many crucial problems, the problem of the survival of mankind, when confrontation and opposition between the North Atlantic alliance and the Warsaw Treaty have been replaced by a period of dialogue and establishment of cooperation by states with differing social systems, aimed at joining forces to prevent war. The head of the USSR delegation set out the main tenets of the military-political and military-technical aspects of the Soviet military doctrine which reveal how it is inclined toward defense. He talked about measures being conducted to restructure the Soviet Armed Forces, aimed at giving them an exclusively defensive character.

He noted: We welcome the statement by the December 1989 session of the NATO Council that the prevention of war is also the goal of the North Atlantic alliance. We express interest in appropriate renewals taking place in NATO's military doctrine in this connection, and in both sides reducing the construction of their armed

forces and the training of their troops to a single common denominator: reasonable sufficiency for defense.

At the same time, he drew attention to the USSR's concerns connected with the continuing growth in the U.S. Navy's offensive potential, the presence around the Soviet Union's territory of many hundreds of U.S. military bases on which a 500,000-strong grouping of troops and large air and naval forces are deployed, Washington's counting on nuclear deterrence, the implementation of SDI, the development of "invisible aircraft" (the B-2) and so on. Army General M.A. Moiseyev pointed out that the NATO doctrine of "flexible response" and the concept of "nuclear" deterrence," despite public declarations about their defensive character, envision the first use of nuclear weapons in certain circumstances.

Why, the head of the Soviet delegation went on, do NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization not take upon themselves now, in new conditions, the joint obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, as the USSR and the PRC have done already? He stressed that an appropriate structural perestroyka of the two alliances aimed at giving them a more political character and defensive inclination would facilitate the creation of the necessary conditions for a considerable reduction in the military potential of the groupings of armed forces confronting each other in Europe and in the world as a whole. [passage omitted]

A meeting of the chiefs of general (main) staffs of the Warsaw Treaty member states took place in Vienna before the start of the forum.

Austrian Paper Covers Speech

AU1801174290 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 17 Jan 90 p 4

[Excerpts of speech by General Mikhail Moiseyev, chief of staff of the Soviet Armed Forces, at the CSCE seminar on military doctrines in Vienna on 16 January: "Text of Major Speeches Given at Vienna CSCE Seminar on Security Concepts and Military Doctrines: General Mikhail Moiseyev From the Soviet Union"]

[Text] "Our military doctrine as the basic law of the Soviet state in the sphere of defense is not aimed at preparing for war but at preventing it and at strengthening international security....

"We see the source of military threat in the military policy of the United States and NATO vis-a-vis the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact in some stipulations of its military doctrine. In this connection, we are particularly concerned about the offensive potential of the U.S. Navy and about Washington's refusal to discuss reductions in naval forces as well as in the sphere of the maritime tactical nuclear weapons....

"As far as conventional weapons are concerned, sufficient defense capability requires a composition that makes it possible for both sides to ward off a possible aggression, but that does not include the capability to carry out large-scale offensive operations....

"The Soviet Armed Forces are being restructured along defensive lines. The number of military districts, armies, and fully armed divisions will be reduced. The equilibrium between offensive and defensive weapons will be changed in favor of the latter.... The divisions that will continue to be deployed on the territory of our allies will be restructured.... The Soviet Union intends to maintain a minimum of conventional armed forces that are required to reliably repel a possible aggression....

"It must be clear that the Warsaw Pact states cannot restructure their armed forces unilaterally without jeopardizing their security. In our military development and military policy, we must take into consideration the main principles of the U.S. and NATO doctrines, the state of training, the composition, and the structure of the armed forces of the other side, as well as its provisions concerning the latest weapons and equipment.

"On the basis of the experiences of World War II, the Soviet Armed Forces used to view offensive operations as the main method of military operations. Until recently, the repulse of an aggression with both offensive and defensive operations was considered to be the best method. We have reconsidered this strategy. If the Soviet Armed Forces are attacked, defensive operations would (now) be the main form of operation."

'Defensive' Doctrine Outlined

PM1801123990 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Jan 90 First Edition p 3

[Report by special correspondent Captain First Class V. Kuzar from the Vienna seminar on military doctrines: "Reducing Military Potentials"]

[Text] A seminar on military doctrines opened here, in the Hofburg Palace, on 16 January. It is attended by representatives of 33 European countries, as well as the United States and Canada—the states that participated in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. The delegations are headed by chiefs of general staffs or military leaders of equivalent rank.

The seminar was opened by Austrian Foreign Minister A. Mock. He called on the seminar participants to overcome the distrust of the cold war years and take the first step in creating common security. Then the representatives of the United States, Bulgaria, the FRG, and Sweden expounded their countries' military doctrines.

I will single out what are, in my view, the main points of the speeches by the NATO countries' representatives and say that both General C. Powell, chairman of the U.S. Armed Forces Joint Chiefs of Staff, and Admiral D. Wellershoff, inspector general of the Bundeswehr, said that their countries' military doctrines are based on a "flexible response" strategy and the concept of "forward defense." They also stressed that "forward defense" is

not geared to capturing foreign territory by means of invasion, but "flexible response" serves to deter and, in the event of an attack, to swiftly repulse an aggressor and restore the "status quo." To be able to do this, according to Gen Powell, NATO needs a wide range of weaponry, from conventional to nuclear armaments.

The evening session was addressed by the representatives of Switzerland, France, Austria, and the USSR. The content of the Soviet military doctrine was expounded by Army General M.A. Moiseyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff.

At the start of his 25-minute speech he noted that the very fact that the chiefs of general staffs and high-ranking military representatives, diplomats, and experts from 35 states are meeting in the hospitable land of Austria confirms that military as well as political relations are entering a qualitatively new stage. The essence of the speech is that actions which unite rather than divide peoples and states are coming to the fore in international politics: not emphasizing differences and contradictions, which have always existed and no doubt will continue to exist, and not using them as an excuse for confrontation, but instead, learning to listen and understand one another, conducting a constructive dialogue, and seeking ways to reduce mutual distrust and enmity.

The Soviet military leader went on to emphasize that a state's social system and policy exercise a decisive influence on the content of military doctrine and its development. A state's military doctrine is a reflection of its social nature and policy.

Guided by the new political thinking, the USSR elaborated and introduced in 1987 a new, defensive military doctrine. It is a system of officially adopted, fundamental views on the prevention of war, military development, preparation of the country's defenses, and training of the USSR Armed Forces to repulse aggression and also on waging armed struggle to defend the socialist Fatherland. In terms of content it is closely coordinated with the military doctrines of the Warsaw Pact states. Effectively operating as the Soviet state's basic law in the defense sphere, our doctrine is geared not to preparation for but to the prevention of war and to the strengthening of international security.

Describing the political aspect of Soviet military doctrine, Army Gen M.A. Moisevev picked out its key provisions. In particular, the fact that the USSR does not see its present or future in terms of tackling international problems by military means. Our country totally rejects war as a means of resolving international disputes and contradictions—economic, political, ideological, or any other. International disputes must be solved peacefully, by political means. War as a means of achieving political aims in present conditions is totally obsolete and has become unacceptable and impermissible.

The Soviet Union sees the maintenance of peace as something of supreme value to mankind. Never, in no circumstances will it be the first to embark on military action against another state. It will not resort to such action at all, unless it is itself the object of aggression or comes under armed attack. We will never be the first to use nuclear weapons.

The USSR regards its security as an integral part of common, equal security and links it to the cessation of the arms race and implementation of real disarmament. Damaging someone else's security is not part of our plans.

Since the current approximate military equilibrium between the two alliances remains a decisive factor in the prevention of war, the USSR will strive to maintain it, but at an ever-lower level. The USSR is not seeking military superiority and sees the mutual reduction of nuclear and conventional armaments as a task of immense, historic significance.

Army Gen M.A. Moiseyev then explained the military-technical aspect of the doctrine, which covers matters of defense development, provision of equipment for the armed forces, establishment of forms and methods of repulsing potential aggression, and training of troops and naval forces to carry out this task. It is concerned with a range of questions, such as 1) the nature of the military threat and the likely enemy; 2) what kind of aggression the state and the armed forces have to be prepared to repulse; 3) what kind of armed forces the state needs; 4) and what methods of military action the armed forces have to be prepared for when repulsing aggression.

As is known, both sides—the USSR and the United States, the Warsaw Pact and NATO—vigorously deny that any threat of war could emanate from them. At the same time, U.S. and NATO official spokesmen are constantly saying that they regard the Soviet Union as their military opponent and that it can only be dealt with from a position of strength: political, economic, and, of course, military.

Personally, the Soviet military leader stressed, I am convinced that the United States and NATO have no aggressive aims at the moment as far as the Soviet Union and its allies are concerned. As a result of the positive changes, tension in the world has diminished, but the danger of war has not disappeared. I will be frank and say that we see the military policy the United States and NATO are conducting vis-a-vis the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact and certain provisions of their military doctrines as a source of war danger.

This conclusion was reinforced in Army Gen M.A. Moiseyev's speech when he stressed the Soviet Union's concern over the mighty offensive potential of the U.S. Navy and Washington's refusal to hold any dialogue at all on the reduction of the navy or on the elimination of tactical nuclear weapons. Our country is also forced to consider the fact that the many hundreds of U.S. military bases form an enormous ring around it, that Washington

shows no signs of abandoning "star wars" or renouncing nuclear tests, and that it banks on deterrence and nuclear weapons.

The second question in the military-technical part of the doctrine is associated with determining what kind of aggression the Soviet Armed Forces are preparing to rebuff. In this question, too, the Soviet military leader stressed that we also have to reckon with specific actions by the other side. It is no secret that the U.S. and NATO armed forces train both for nuclear and for conventional war. As long as the ideas of "nuclear deterrence" are put into practice in the development and training of NATO armed forces and as long as the actual possibility of using nuclear weapons is entertained, we will have to keep our armed forces ready for defensive tasks in all possible situations.

Why don't the United States and the USSR, NATO and the Warsaw Pact adopt now, in the new conditions, a joint, mutual pledge not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, the chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff suggested. We are in favor of adopting a pledge not to be the first to start a war using conventional weapons either.

Soviet military doctrine has elaborated a new approach to determining the composition of the armed forces and their structure and to military development as a whole. In tackling these questions the USSR acts in accordance with the principle of reasonable defense sufficiency.

Regarding strategic offensive armaments, this principle means approximate Soviet-American equilibrium in these armaments, Army Gen M.A. Moiseyev noted. In terms of conventional armaments, defense sufficiency implies an effective combat strength whereby the sides are capable of repulsing potential aggression but, at the same time, do not possess the potential to conduct an offensive or wage major offensive operations. This means giving the armed forces a nonoffensive structure, limiting the strength of offensive weapon systems, changing the groupings and the deployment of armed forces in the light of defensive tasks, and reducing the scale of military production, military expenditure, and military activity in general. The seminar participants were then told about the specific measures being implemented in the USSR and its armed forces in this connection.

I would like to say the following in the presence of the chiefs of general staffs, Army Gen M.A. Moiseyev stressed. We set an example by embarking on a unilateral reduction of armed forces and a reorganization along defensive lines. Through our practical actions we are inviting you to follow our example. Reciprocity is needed, and we would like to see it in the very near future.

It must be appreciated that the Warsaw Pact countries cannot on a unilateral basis totally restructure their armed forces on entirely defensive lines or radically alter their structure and disposition without affecting their own security. In our military development and in our military policy we are compelled to take into account the basic U.S. and NATO doctrinal principles, the level of training, the disposition and structure of the other side's armed forces, and their possession of the latest armaments and equipment.

The Soviet military doctrine also reflects the new approach to the question of the purpose of armed forces' operational and combat training. Army Gen M.A. Moiseyev noted that we have revised our strategy. In the event of aggression, defensive operations will be the Soviet Armed Forces' main form of action.

It is on this basis that the strategic-operational plans and all the fundamental documents, including regulations and field manuals that are used by our armed forces, have been revamped and brought precisely into line with the provisions of the defensive doctrine. In his speech the chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff noted the dangerous nature of U.S. and NATO armed forces' military exercises and maneuvers and called for restraint in military activities and an effort not to intimidate one another.

In conclusion, Army Gen M.A. Moiseyev dwelt on relations both within the Warsaw Pact and between the two alliances. It is our profound belief, he stressed, that in the future the Warsaw Pact military-political alliance will become a political-military alliance. We welcome the fact that, judging by the NATO December communique, this work is already under way in the North Atlantic alliance.

All this gives grounds for believing that relations in the military sphere will develop in the future on the basis of openness and reciprocity. The corresponding structural perestroyka of the two alliances to give them more of a political character will help create the requisite combination of circumstances which would substantially reduce the military potential of the opposing groupings of armed forces in Europe and the world as a whole.

After his speech Army Gen Moiseyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, answered seminar participants' questions.

Arms Negotiator Cited on Vienna Talks

LD1901091190 Moscow TASS in English 0843 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 19—The implementation of the Vienna accords is proceeding successfully, Ambassador at Large Yuriy Kashlev told SOVIET ROSSIYA newspaper.

He headed a Soviet delegation at last year's Vienna follow-up meeting of representatives of the states which participated in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE).

In connection with the first anniversary of the Vienna meeting, he pointed out that he regarded as one of major

achievements of the Vienna follow-up meeting the start of parallel talks in the Austrian capital in March 1989 between 23 Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries on conventional armed forces and weapons in Europe and talks between 35 CSCE countries on confidence-building measures in the military field.

Both series of talks are being held in a businesslike atmosphere. There are chances to conclude the first important agreements before the end of this year, Kashlev emphasised.

Speaking of the processes of bringing internal legislation into line with international legal norms, acts and conventions, Kashlev said that much has been done in the Soviet Union in this respect but still more is yet to be done.

Free elections were held in the Soviet Union for the first time and the truly democratic Congress of People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet of the USSR were formed, he said.

They consider fundamental bills and change the legal system. The work on bills on the press, on exist and entry, and on freedom of conscience, directly meet the Vienna accords.

The Soviet representative favoured the formation of a Human Rights Committee in the USSR Supreme Soviet. "It is necessary that it deal with the consideration of how human rights are observed not only in our country but also by our partners abroad.

"This sphere should not turn into a one-way street. Human rights in the West have been and are being violated. Suffice it to recall, for example, the 'Guildord Four' or the 'Birmingham Six.'

"Or take Panama. The USSR Supreme Soviet has said virtually nothing in response to the invasion while U.S. congressmen constantly react to our reality: they send petitions, delegates, and respond with articles in the press."

General on Need for Chemical Weapons Ban

LD1801130190 Moscow TASS in English 1219 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 18 TASS—"The early conclusion of an international convention to ban and liquidate chemical weapons is one of the priority areas of the Soviet Union's foreign policy activities," deputy head of the Administration of the Soviet Armed Forces' General Staff Anatoliy Bolyatko told TASS.

There have lately appeared real prerequisites to finalise a relevant international accord, the general noted. "In this respect, 1990 might be the decisive year."

The Soviet Union believes that the convention should ensure full and comprehensive prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons in any form and elimination of all stocks of chemical weapons. It should also guarantee that production of such weapons will never be restarted anywhere, Bolyatko said.

At the Geneva talks, the USSR therefore seeks the creation of the most reliable verification system. "We back up our initiatives at the negotiations with steps to build up confidence and public openness in the area of military-chemical arsenals," the general said.

The USSR is the first state to have announced its chemical weapon stocks, which do not exceed 50,000 tonnes in toxic substances, Bolyatko noted. There are no Soviet chemical weapons on territories of other states and the USSR has not transferred chemical weapons or technology and equipment to make them to anybody.

The drafting of the convention is hampered by the continued production of binary chemical weapons in the U.S., the desire to ensure the ability to resume production of binary weapons at any moment, notwithstanding the convention, and to take out of control the bulk of the private chemical industry, including transnational corporations, the general underlined.

Final accords should be reached on such outstanding questions as the unimpaired security of the parties to the convention, non-production of chemical weapons in industry and separate aspects of control.

"All difficulties and obstacles to the completion of the work over the convention can be successfully overcome in the near future, provided the political will of the parties to the negotiations," Bolyatko said. [sentence as received]

Progress Toward Nuclear-Free World Viewed

PM1601165190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Jan 90 Second Edition p 6

["Thoughts of a Soviet Disarmament Specialist" by V. Karpov: "Four Years On"; first two paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] M.S. Gorbachev delivered a statement 15 January 1987 in which he announced on behalf of the Soviet leadership a number of major fundamental foreign policy actions, the purpose of which was to facilitate maximum improvement of the international situation and clear the way for curtailing the arms race on earth, averting it in space, and lessening danger of war in general.

Today the following question naturally arises: What have these steps yielded for mankind over the past 4 years; have they made the world more secure; have they brought the end of the arms race and the resolution of disarmament tasks closer?

The phased plan for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons throughout the world was a key link in the program for ensuring security through disarmament put

forward by the Soviet Union 4 years ago. Manifesting readiness to begin the movement toward a nuclear-free world in deeds rather than in words, the USSR put forward wide-ranging proposals that smashed customary notions of talks on nuclear disarmament issues.

The entry into force of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles was the most important event to follow the publication of the statement of 15 January 1986. This was the first—and therefore particularly important—step toward the implementation of the program for a nuclear-free world.

That is perhaps the main political significance of the treaty that was elaborated: The vicious circle of the arms race which had run on from decade to decade was broken; the ingrained, absurd logic of nuclear confrontation founded on the principle of "counteraction is action" was overturned; the highly dangerous psychological stereotype of the "fatality" and "preordination" of stockpiling nuclear weapons was eliminated.

According to top-level USSR and U.S. overall assessments, the treaty is being fulfilled well without any serious mishap. By 31 December 1989 the Soviet Union had eliminated 1,498 intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles (81.1 percent of the initial quantity) and 555 launchers (67.2 percent). The United States had eliminated 451 missiles (53.3 percent) and 92 launchers (31.8 percent). In 1989 the sides fully completed the destruction of their shorter-range missiles and launchers—USSR SS-12's and SS-23's and U.S. Pershing-1A's.

The treaty created preconditions for further, more profound reductions in nuclear and conventional arms.

The treaty's significance also resides in the fact that it enshrined methods for resolving many complex disarmament problems. The implementation of its provisions assumes particular importance as a kind of practical experiment to perfect their effectiveness with a view to resolving even more complex questions in future disarmament agreements, above all in a strategic offensive arms treaty.

And work on a strategic offensive arms treaty is now entering the final lap. A political decision was adopted during the Soviet-U.S. meeting in Malta to prepare this treaty for signing this year.

The problem of long-range sea-launched cruise missiles has a direct bearing on the strengthening of strategic stability. They are an essential element in the strategic equation. However, it is not imperative to incorporate a decision on this question in the text of the strategic offensive arms treaty. We are also prepared for alternative solutions. However, the peculiar "organic integrity" of sea-launched nuclear weapons prompted the conclusion that serious discussion of all problems relating to sea-launched nuclear weapons (barring submarine-launched ballistic missiles, which will be limited by the strategic offensive arms treaty) is advisable at separate talks. We are now proposing to begin bilateral consultations at the level of USSR and U.S. experts to prepare for these talks.

Strategic stability also includes the reliable functioning of surveillance, early warning, and communications satellites. Antisatellite weapons are unequivocally destabilizing; that is why the USSR and the United States manifest a certain degree of restraint toward them at present. But we must think about enshrining this state of affairs in a corresponding bilateral accord. In the context of such a joint decision we are ready to agree to most radical steps, including a complete ban on antisatellite weapons.

The increased dynamism of dialogue on nuclear disarmament problems dictates the need to take a new look at the question of the complete cessation of nuclear tests. As is well known, a powerful movement is currently developing in the USSR in favor of the complete cessation of nuclear tests not only in the USSR but everywhere else too. The idea of the complete cessation of nuclear tests enjoys public support in the United States and many other countries.

We are wholly and completely in sympathy with the appeals on this subject and are prepared on our part to immediately stop all our nuclear tests if the United States does the same.

In the past the USSR and the United States agreed to take this in stages. The elaboration of control protocols to the hitherto unratified Soviet-U.S. treaties of 1974 and 1976 limiting the yield of underground nuclear explosions will be completed in the near future at the Geneva talks. The task of the first phase of talks will thus have been resolved and the sides, under the previous accord, will have to embark on discussing further limitation of tests with a view to their complete cessation.

Another problem to which I would like to draw your attention is the possibility of beginning talks on banning the production of fissionable materials for the purposes of weapons development. This would be a most radical shortcut to eliminating nuclear weapons: While talks only discuss the destruction of nuclear weapons delivery vehicles, the weapons still remain in states' arsenals. That is why, strictly speaking, mankind has still not embarked on nuclear disarmament proper, and this provokes legitimate concern among the world's public. The cessation of highly-enriched uranium and plutonium production would inevitably result in curtailment of the actual industrial base for manufacturing key nuclear weapons components.

The 15 January 1986 statement raised the task of intensifying talks on elaborating an effective and verifiable international convention on banning chemical weapons and destroying chemical weapons stockpiles. There are real opportunities today for completing this work in 1990-1991. The first practical steps—on a bilateral basis—have already been taken. A USSR-U.S. memorandum of understanding was signed 23 September 1989

regarding a bilateral verification experiment and exchange of the appropriate data. Data on the two countries' military-chemical potentials was exchanged on New Year's Eve and subsequently checked out. We are prepared, in conjunction with the United States, to reach an agreement on the destruction of chemical weapons stocks even before the convention's entry into force, provided, of course, that production is halted. However, we must now remove the last obstacles to the conclusion of a multilateral convention. Of course, efforts are needed not only from the USSR and the United States, but also from other parties to the talks on this question.

In the 15 January 1986 statement the USSR proposed that conventional weapons and armed forces should be the object of coordinated reductions along with the elimination of mass-destruction weapons from states' arsenals.

A great deal has been achieved in this area in the last 4 years. Talks on conventional armed forces in Europe have begun and are making successful headway. The elimination of the historical imbalances and asymmetries on both sides in conjunction with the adoption of new-generation confidence-building measures are the subject of the initial Vienna accords which are to be signed this year.

We believe that the accords under preparation in Vienna should only be the first step to implementing the task of radically reducing conventional armed forces to the level of sufficiency for defense and restructuring them in accordance with the needs of defensive military doctrine.

The Vienna talks aim not merely to reduce the level of military confrontation in Europe but to gradually arrive at a situation where military confrontation is eliminated via this reduction and the reorganization of armed forces and NATO and Warsaw Pact military organizations' structures.

For its part the Soviet Union has already begun to move in this direction unilaterally. By the end of 1990, in accordance with M.S. Gorbachev's 7 December 1988 UN statement, it will cut back its armed forces by 500,000 men, withdraw and disband 6 tank divisions from the GDR, the CSSR, and Hungary, cut back troops in these countries by 50,000 men, reduce conventional arms in Europe by 10,000 tanks, 8,500 artillery guns, and 800 warplanes, and substantially reduce the grouping of armed forces on the Asian continent. A considerable proportion of these steps have already been implemented. The armed forces remaining in Europe and Asia have been given an exclusively defensive thrust.

The USSR's unilateral steps fully accord with the Warsaw Pact states' initiatives of 1987-1988 regarding the need to restructure armed forces and conventional arms on principles of reasonable sufficiency and a strictly defensive military doctrine. The Soviet Union and other Warsaw Pact states are graphically demonstrating the seriousness of their intentions and showing that their words regarding this restructuring are not at variance with their practical actions.

Relations between the Warsaw Pact and the North Atlantic alliance must now switch to a nonconfrontational course, and constructive dialogue must be organized between them on political, military, and other levels and transformed into a factor for security and cooperation on the continent.

In the context of the projected breakthrough at the Vienna talks it is possible to now begin discussing the question of the gradual removal of the tactical nuclear component from the European military equation.

For our part we have already unilaterally begun to move in this direction. In 1989 500 nuclear warheads (166 air-launched warheads, 50 artillery warheads, and 284 missile warheads) have already been withdrawn from our allies' territory. The USSR is not modernizing or replacing its tactical nuclear missiles and intends, in the event of an accord on beginning talks, to embark on further major unilateral reductions in tactical missiles in Europe.

One of the remarkable results of the Soviet nuclear disarmament program has been the establishment in states' military-political relations of unprecedented standards of openness and verification, which were difficult to imagine a few years ago.

At the same time it is now time to move on in this sphere from partial confidence-building measures and the removal of mutual concern on various individual questions to a broad policy of openness, which would be an inalienable element of an all-embracing system of international security. In this context we are also raising the question of working not only toward "open skies" but also toward "open land," "open seas," and "open space." We believe that glasnost, openness, and predictability cannot be selective. These problems must be considered as a whole, as a single package, involving more and more states in their resolution.

The beginning of the implementation of the 15 January 1986 Soviet program has changed the situation not only in Europe but also in Asia and has boosted security in that region to a qualitatively new level.

Between 1986 and 1989 the Soviet Union submitted a whole series of proposals on strengthening military-political stability and security in the Asia-Pacific region and also took a number of unilateral steps to lessen its military presence in that region of the globe.

It completely withdrew its troops from Afghanistan and also cut back its armed forces in the Far East. The Soviet troop grouping in the eastern section of the USSR will be reduced by another 200,000 men, including 120,000 in the Far East, by the end of 1990. Some 16 warships will be removed from the Pacific Fleet. In this period 75

percent of the ground troops stationed in Mongolia and the entire air grouping—which amounts to more than 50,000 men—will be withdrawn from that country. The USSR has expressed a readiness to withdraw all its remaining troops from Mongolia by agreement with the Mongolian side. The structural restructuring of the armed forces stationed along the Soviet-Chinese border has begun with a view to giving them a solely defensive character.

We attach great significance to the talks that began with the PRC late last year on a mutual reduction in armed forces in the Soviet-Chinese border area. We are working in this region to radically reduce the level of military confrontation and reduce troops and arms to a level of reasonable sufficiency.

In our approach to strengthening security in the Asia-Pacific region we are taking into consideration the special features of the local situation, which is substantially different there from, say, the situation in Europe. At the same time we are opposed to the use of references to these specific conditions as an excuse for evading involvement in the arms limitation and disarmament process.

In submitting a program for the complete and universal elimination of nuclear weapons by the end of this century, the Soviet Union was proceeding on the premise that its implementation is a quite feasible task. In this connection it is now becoming necessary to seriously consider the question of the security structure of a nuclear-free world. This question is difficult, and the answer to it must be sought together, since the creation of such security is a global task, requiring joint coordinated efforts from all states and peoples.

The Central Committee political report to the 27th CPSU Congress formulated the general foundations for an all-embracing system of international security in the military, political, economic, and humanitarian spheres, whereby it would be possible to seek to ensure that peaceful coexistence becomes the supreme universal principle of interstate relations, including relations in a nuclear-free world.

The United Nations is designed to be an effective instrument for creating an all-embracing system of international security. This unique world organization's significance as a universal organ for multilateral cooperation and a political guarantor of universal peace is also unquestionable.

It is clear that the structure of a nuclear-free world in modern conditions cannot merely be a return to the prenuclear world with all its problems and contradictions. It must be a qualitatively new model of international security. Can such a model be created? One would have thought that all our experience of man's history would deny such a possibility. However, one cannot help but see that there are some objective preconditions for this at present.

There is now a very strong universal realization in the world that the threat of war is receding into the past and that there is a unique opportunity to build a qualitatively new world based on normal, civilized East-West relations, put an end to the "cold war" by joint efforts, and move on to a period of peace, rendering it stable and indefinite.

Clearly this task can only be realized in a nuclear-free world. However few nuclear weapons there are in the world, there will still be too many, since at best they ensure equal danger, which is no more than a substitute, a surrogate for genuine security. That is why the "deterrence" doctrine, which instructs mankind to depend on firm guarantees of self-annihilation and constantly live on the edge of the abyss, is a snare from which there is no escape while states' arsenals contain these weapons.

In the course of the historic Malta meeting M.S. Gorbachev assured the U.S. president that the USSR will never begin a "hot" war against the United States and proposed switching to a higher degree of mutual understanding, to collaboration and business partnership in building a qualitatively new world. This demands bold questing and a vision of not only the short-term but also the long-term prospects of developing a civilization which must be founded on the synthesis of all mankind's positive experience. We must look to the future and strive to ensure that the threat of mutual destruction is removed in the current generation's lifetime. Strictly speaking, that is the purpose of the Soviet program for a nuclear-free world put forward by M.S. Gorbachev 15 January 1986.

Paper Interviews Ryzhkov on Future of CEMA

LD1801184890 Moscow TASS in English 1811 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 18 TASS—"The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance has been preserved," Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov said in an interview with the weekly MOSCOW NEWS. He commented on the results of the 45th meeting of the CMEA session held in Sofia recently.

Ryzhkov said there was a good atmosphere at the session. He said the head of the Romanian delegation Petre Roman had expressed satisfaction with the comradely attitude of the participants in the session.

Ryzhkov said that numerous bilateral meetings were conducted in an atmosphere of mutual respect. There were no confrontations during either multilateral or bilateral conversations, Ryzhkov noted.

"We discussed specific problems in Sofia. There was mutual criticism and efforts to convince one another. This is normal. It is now impossible to work differently," Ryzhkov said.

Prior to the session the Western media wrote that the CMEA would disintegrate, that it had outlived its use.

"I had no sense that the disbanding of the CMEA is imminent. Everybody is aware that we are closely connected. There are, certainly, opinions that if the new, reorganised CMEA is not attractive enough to a country, it reserves the right to quit the council or not to enter it," Ryzhkov said.

He said that this is a justifiable viewpoint. If the new charter is unacceptable to a country, it can choose not to participate in CMEA.

"We shall thoroughly consider the decisions taken in Sofia. A serious programme of action should be prepared on their basis. Its main purpose will be not to lose time in 1990. The year 1990 will be the decisive year. If the deterioration of the economic situation is arrested and the situation starts to improve, people will believe that there really are good prospects. Then it will be easier for everyone to work, in the Soviet Union and in CMEA," Ryzhkov said.

Writer Contends 'New Era' for CEMA Possible

90UI0296A Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 17 Jan 90 p 9

[Article by Marina Pavlova-Silvanskaya: "CEMA on the Threshold of a New Era"]

[Text] Miss Marple, the well-known Agatha Christie character, used to begin to figure out any detective puzzle by recalling something that happened to her neighbors in the village. I am not nearly as perspicacious as the respected lady, but I am also carried away by "nonprotocol" analogies. Recently, I recalled a curiosity: At an exam on the history of the ancient Orient, a professor, a well-known specialist on Egypt, absentmindedly entered "1954 B.C." in my examination booklet. This came up for a most unsuitable reason: Some speeches at the 45th CEMA session still referred to "the socialist commonwealth," though a new era has definitely begun in East Europe. Changes in the political symbols, the nature of economic transformations in Poland and Hungary, and incomplete stormy changes in the GDR, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and Romania make it impossible to say with certainty whether in several years the social system of these states is going to be different enough from the social market economy of West Europe to merit its own "ism" word.

Has a new era begun for the CEMA as well? Superficial attributes seem to suggest this, such as the ceremonious "ladies and gentlemen" sounded at the Sofia meeting instead of the customary form of address "comrades." There were new faces. The new people brought with them a different style of communication: A battle in a more or less respectable form was waged instead of a stiff performance by officials.

What about the essence? As is known, the new era for Christians began with the Nativity. At the 45th session, neither a new CEMA nor even a unified market of the countries belonging to CEMA was born to which very recently much hope was attached. We cannot refer to the Sofia meeting as a collective annunciation either. It was rather a team consultation which diagnosed the agony of CEMA in its present form. When will its assumption occur? What will replace it? A renewed council, some new commonwealth, or conventional bilateral contacts? A final diagnosis is to be made in the next three months by a special commission consisting of ranking representatives of the states. It will play the role of a second opinion because the apparatus of the council is clearly unable to offer a prescription for healing the patient effectively which would satisfy all the partners in this new political situation.

The passing of CEMA was quite vociferously predicted on the eve of the session; however, in the course of the meeting, the Hungarian and Czechoslovak prime ministers also made quite categorical statements. M. Calfa stated that Czechoslovakia, which before World War II was a developed industrial country, was deprived against its will of an opportunity to participate in the world division of labor, and this is why it has a firm intention to restore its natural place in Europe and in the world economy. He was echoed by M. Nemeth who said: If CEMA is not going to be fundamentally renewed it will forfeit its right to exist.

The sharp phrases were prompted in part by the acute political struggle. The game is played in the open at the "round tables," and the bets on unrestricted sovereignty and national interests are the highest. For 40 years, the socialist commonwealth together with the international entities operating within it was held together primarily by ideological considerations, and this was a factor.

Attempts to discover a real economic substance which would justify the existence of a multilateral organization have ended in failure time after time: The most varied forms of economic interaction tried in CEMA invariably decayed into elementary components—bilateral contacts which can be maintained just as well without a bureaucratized, cumbersome, and costly council. This is why we should not at all interpret as a symptom of deteriorating relations between our countries an unprecedented dispute between new Czechoslovak Minister of Finance V. Klaus who announced that his country may leave CEMA and N.I. Ryzhkov who stated at a news conference: "After all, nobody is keeping anybody else in CEMA by force." Good-neighborly relations are necessary and important; this is as simple as ABC. However, this is not the issue but rather multilateral cooperation and its forms.

Until now, the sense of Soviet policy in East Europe was to maintain and reinforce the status quo. The leadership of the USSR was prepared to pay, and pay a lot, for it. An estimate by Hungarian specialists gives an indirect idea of the sum which such "extra payments" in the name of preserving old forms of economic cooperation come to: If all settlements were to be converted into convertible currencies, the USSR has paid approximately $6 billion extra. Other methods result in different sums ranging between $5 billion and $10 billion. (I will make the reservation that, of course, cooperation has never been strictly a "donation" by the USSR.)

However, by now the old status quo in East Europe has faded into oblivion. Given the new situation, all countries belonging to CEMA have to redefine their interests and decide how much they are prepared to pay to accomplish them. Some of the partners have simply not managed to think everything through thoroughly and draw corresponding conclusions for the operation of CEMA: Four prime ministers have held their posts for between two weeks and one and a half months. P. Roman straightforwardly admitted at the session that he was not prepared for a constructive dialogue. As far as the Czechoslovak position is concerned, the world press immediately detected an inconsistency: After vehement declarations, the delegation suddenly came out in favor of a transition to world prices and convertible currencies taking five years rather than three as the Soviet side proposed. This is prompted by the considerable dependence of Czechoslovakia on Soviet deliveries of fuel and raw materials.

The Hungarians proposed interesting new approaches to organizing cooperation. However, only after the outline of hazy ideas becomes clearer will it be possible to say more definitively what new chronology the 45th session has started, and whether the history of the emergence of a new, viable economic community is being marked or that of the withering of the old economic organization and its gradual "dissolution" in the overall European cooperation.

TASS Reports on Perfilyev's 18 Jan Briefing

Force Reduction in Vietnam

LD1801153390 Moscow TASS in English 1515 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 18 TASS—Following is the full text of a statement read by Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vadim Perfilyev at a briefing here today:

"Acting within the framework of the earlier announced measures to reduce the numerical strength of the Soviet Armed Forces in the country's eastern section and convert them to a purely defensive structure in the Asia-Pacific region, the Soviet Union has started reducing its presence in Cam Ranh Port by arrangement with the Vietnamese side.

MiG-23 and Tu-16 Planes were withdrawn from there at the end of 1989.

A squadron with a varying number of aircraft (6-10) remains on the Cam Ranh air-field.

The Soviet side hopes that these actions will help to defuse military-political tension and strengthen the climate of mutual trust in the Asia-Pacific region."

CSSR Troop Withdrawal Talks

LD1801155190 Moscow TASS in English 1544 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 18 TASS—During the first round of Soviet-Czechoslovak talks on problems connected with the presence of Soviet troops on Czechoslovak territory held in Prague on January 15-16, this year, its participants analysed in a preliminary way political, military, legal, financial and other aspects of the problem discussed, Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, said at a briefing today.

A constructive exchange of views took place in Prague, which clarified the two sides' stands, including on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia. According to the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman, the Czechoslovak side submitted for consideration a draft agreement on the stage-by-stage withdrawal of Soviet troops, including dates, as well as a proposal on defining a status of troops for a period of their withdrawal.

Since it became evident that some issues require additional study, the sides agreed to continue the talks in Moscow no later than the first week of February, this year, Perfilyev said.

GDR's Fischer To Visit

LD1801143490 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1410 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, 18 Jan. (TASS)—GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer arrives in Moscow tomorrow on a working visit at the invitation of the Soviet Government. This was announced at a briefing today by Vadim Perfilyev, first deputy chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate.

The program of the visit provides for a conversation between Fischer and USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, as well as talks between the delegations. The Soviet side expresses confidence, the USSR spokesman noted, that the forthcoming exchange of opinions will be fruitful and will provide an opportunity for a thorough discussion on the state of and prospects for bilateral relations, and also for comparing and coordinating both countries' approaches to various international problems, taking into consideration the development of the dynamic processes in the GDR and in countries around it.

Vadim Perfilyev said that Oskar Fischer's arrival is welcomed in the Soviet Union and the outcome of the talks is awaited with interest.

Najibullah's Shura Proposal

LD1901235490 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1532 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, 18 Jan (TASS)—The achievement of an internal Afghan political settlement is impossible on any separate foundation without the participation of all Afghans. Vadim Perfilyev, first deputy head of the USSR Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate, said this when commenting on the attempts of the Afghan opposition ("Alliance of Seven") to form separate power structures which claim a right to act on behalf of the people.

It is known that the first experience in creating the "transition government" of the "Alliance of Seven" has failed, Vadim Perfilyev said. Without having existed for even a year, this government has effectively collapsed, and the differences between the leaders in it have spilled over into bloody clashes between their armed formations. At the current time, the "Alliance of Seven" is forcefully promoting the idea of convocation of a so-called shura (council), attempting to give it the appearance of an elected body.

Having indicated the complete lack of prospects for these ideas of the opposition, the spokesman of the USSR Foreign Ministry drew attention to the new initiative of Najibullah, president of the Republic of Afghanistan, concerning the convocation of a shura in Kabul with the participation of all Afghan political forces which are inside the country and beyond its boundaries. He especially noted the fact that the Afghan authorities guarantee personal safety for all delegates, and freedom of action for them.

"The proposal of President Najibullah opens up broad opportunities for arranging an intra-Afghan dialogue, for searching for compromises and for adopting constructive decisions to end the fratricide," Vadim Perfilyev stressed.

Release of Iranian, Iraqi POW's

LD1801153790 Moscow TASS in English 1523 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 18 TASS—The Soviet Union welcomes the news of the release of a group of sick and wounded prisoners of war [POW's] by Iraq and Iran, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vadim Perfilyev told a briefing here today.

This event, he said, can accelerate the overall process of the Iran-Iraq settlement. "It is important that the repeated statements by the two sides about their peaceful intentions have materialized in a specific step of a profoundly humanitarian character," he said.

The USSR hopes that similar steps will follow, Perfilyev said.

'Concern' for Lebanese Situation

LD1801175790 Moscow TASS in English 1719 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 18 TASS—"In the USSR they note with satisfaction that the committee of three on Lebanon, which was formed in keeping with the decision of the extraordinary conference of heads of state and government of Arab countries, continues to work vigorously," a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

Vadim Perfilyev told a briefing today that the Soviet Union shares the appraisals and concern voiced by the foreign ministers of the committee member-countries at the Algiers meeting.

"The process to restore national accord, launched under the al-Ta'if agreements, has clearly slowed down. The increasing delay in implementing these agreements is fraught with a backslide and a serious exacerbation of the situation," the Soviet side believes.

"Stubborn attempts by some circles in Lebanon to discredit the charter of national accord, obstruct the operation of lawful institutes of power and revert the country to paths of division, confrontation and bloodshed are most alarming," Perfilyev stressed.

Shevardnadze Reviews Overall European Process

PM1801203090 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 5

[Article by Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister: "Europe—From Division to Unity"]

[Text] Some time ago the vocabulary of European politicians was enriched by new terms whose root was the word "confederation." They all reflect an intensive endeavor—the attempt to foresee and map out the future of Europe, which is going through a stage of turbulent changes.

The Berlin Wall still stands, but it no longer divides. The North Atlantic Alliance and the Warsaw Pact are reinterpreting their own significance, pondering a reduction of the military component and an increase in the political component. The resolute rejection of "administrative socialism" by the peoples of the eastern part of the continent, which has generated new realities, poses a dramatic question about the future, and not only for them. When French Prime Minister M. Rocard says that the collapse of the "iron curtain" has destroyed a certain degree of comfort in which everyone, on either side of it, was living, it is not difficult to grasp that "comfort" implies stability. Despite their unequivocally positive nature, changes on such a considerable scale and at such a rapid pace undoubtedly entail the risk of a destabilizing effect which no sensible person, whether a statesman or an "ordinary mortal," would want.

The desire to see this torrent flowing between the banks of a current that does not destroy the peoples' lives is only natural. There can only be one formula here: dynamism within a framework of stability. It demands the utmost attentiveness, imagination, and action.

Attentiveness is being displayed at every level of foreign policy contacts. Action is taking place on a wide front of bilateral and multilateral diplomacy. As for imagination, this is stimulated by the natural desire to define the forms of an all-European structure that are most rational, viable, and, most importantly, that guarantee the security of countries and peoples.

In this category, the idea of a "European confederation" is dominant, along with blueprints for the "common European home," the idea of which was formulated by M.S. Gorbachev in Paris in 1985.

I would like to recall in just a few words that the philosophy of a common European identity has many centuries of history. It is customary to designate all its modifications by the term "the European idea" (or "the idea of Europe"), in some cases in relation to various projects for European unification, and in others in relation to the range of economic, cultural, and international conditions of Europe's life.

Examining one such project, the "Great Plan" of Duke de Sully, Jean-Jacques Rousseau said that it "was not good enough for Europe, because Europe was not good enough for it." In other words, the Europe of that era was not objectively ready to implement a unification plan. I would also suggest that neither before, nor after, did any of the plans for a united Europe have any real foundation.

Does such a foundation exist now? Or, to express it in the spirit of Rousseau, is present-day Europe good enough for them? These are by no means idle questions in the circumstances of the speedy collapse of postwar structures and the movement which has begun toward surmounting the division of the continent, when the course of events has itself brought the idea of the common European home into the sphere of practical

politics. And it is in this context that we must answer this question: Are the proposed projects good enough for the present state of Europe? Do they safely resolve the problems of stability and security?

But first—the prerequisites for Europe's unity and the conditions in which the triumph of the European idea is possible.

The new political thinking has tried hard to eliminate from interstate relations the ideological component and the associated spirit of implacable confrontation. It has advanced not through the starry-eyed idealism of its champions and spokesmen, but through the recognition of the shared threats to the continent and the shared responsibility of European countries for the continent's future in the face of a multiplicity of dangers—the nuclear and conventional arms race, economic laggardness, ecological disaster. The new political thinking also could not exclude from its field of vision the objective prerequisites for economic integration and the political structures that have arisen on that basis, which have spread across the continent in waves, and which in a number of cases exert a pull toward rapprochement.

The basis for this rapprochement is the all-European process—a key, strategic concept in the chain of perceptions on the possibility of equal nations whose statehood and borders are recognized as unshakeable constants. By bringing together at the conference table for peace, security, and cooperation, for the first time in Europe's history, the 33 European states as well as the United States and Canada, Helsinki defined the paths toward this goal. Perestroyka in the Soviet Union, superimposing itself on these paths, widened them and brought the goal closer.

It is relavent to recall this on the anniversary of the conclusion of the all-European meeting in Vienna, that unprecedented event, as M.S. Gorbachev put it, in terms of its content, its objectives, and its probable diverse consequences not only for Europe, but for the entire world.

Since Vienna there have been a whole series of meetings devoted to various aspects of cooperation in Europe—from information to ecology. Talks are in progress on reducing troops and conventional arms, and on new confidence-building measures. The anniversary of the "Vienna accord" was marked by an unprecedented event; a seminar has begun in the Austrian capital whose participants—high-ranking military representatives of the European countries, the United States, and Canada—will discuss the defense doctrines of the Warsaw Pact and NATO.

The consequences, however, can be perceived not only, indeed, not chiefly in the series of all-European forums, but more in the reality of conventional arms reduction, the formation of a united European economic and legal space, and mutually beneficial cooperation among the integrated systems that exist within it. In this respect I found my December 1989 visit to Brussels and the meetings and talks with the leaders of Belgium, the EEC, the European Parliament, and NATO most instructive. The overall personal result of the visit was a strengthened confidence in the **feasibility of the united Europe project.** In Brussels I was again convinced of the validity of our approach to the integration of Western Europe as a major economic and political phenomenon and to the establishment of active cooperation with the European Communities and the European Parliament.

The agreement on trade and commercial and economic cooperation between the USSR and the EC is a broad step in the direction of mutual adaptation by the East and West of the continent and the eradication of their disunity. We are interested in EC proposals on the creation of a European Bank for Reconstruction and Development and a management personnel training foundation. We naturally proceed on the basis that the aims and principles of the activity of the new bank, which is intended to coordinate multilateral assistance for economic reforms in the countries of Eastern Europe, should be of a balanced nature and should exclude the possibility of making aid conditional on considerations of a political or ideological nature.

Thus it is our firm conviction that the European idea, more than ever before, has a chance of implementation—albeit not rapid—**gradual,** but sure.

In what forms and structures? Let us look at some proposals and the possible situations associated with them.

In Brussels I asked Foreign Minister M. Eyskens to explain the nature of his idea of a "confederative community of Europe." From his answer, one can conclude that the emphasis is on strengthening the European Communities, and on cooperation between them and the member countries of the European Free Trade Association and the states of Eastern Europe within a framework of confederative structures which will naturally be formed in the course of such cooperation. In any event, the intention not to be confined to West European integration, but to extend it and **surmount the effective division of Europe** appears positive.

In his New Year reflections on the same topic, French President Francois Mitterrand came out in favor of the **phased formation of a "European confederation"** which would unite all the states of Europe on the basis of the Helsinki accords.

As we understand it, he also sees the first stage of the building of a "greater Europe" as being to strengthen the structures of the community of the "12." But he makes the Helsinki process the basis of the second stage (which, as he put it, still has to be "invented"). Europeans are thus offered a kind of outline for discussions on the future architecture of Europe, and a Europe **from the Atlantic to the Urals, in the context of stability, on the basis of all the principles proclaimed in the Helsinki Final Act, including, of course, the principle of the inviolability of borders of European states.**

Here the main thing is the firm linkage with Helsinki, which the Soviet Union sees as a stabilizing and unifying factor.

Here, naturally, there should also be discussion of the utilization of other structures that have grown up on the continent and of their positive potential.

For instance, that prestigious organization of intergovernmental and interparliamentary cooperation, the Council of Europe. Many elements of continent-wide significance can already be perceived in it. The involvement of the Soviet Union and a number of East European countries in the activities of the Council of Europe could in the future give that organization an all-European scope.

The collaboration that is taking shape between the European Communities and the Soviet Union, and between the EC and the modernized CEMA could endow the rapprochement processes in Europe with a new quality.

However bold and daring a politician may be in his ideas on the limits of the possible, he has no right to divorce himself from current realities. And these are such that, in contemplating a united Europe, we cannot isolate the German question from that context. This question was, and to an even greater extent is now, the core of Europe's security. In my Brussels speech to the members of the European Parliament Political Commission I set forth the Soviet Union's approach to this question. The response confirmed my view that German affairs are of concern to the European public, because it is a question of the vital interests of not only the neighboring FRG and GDR, but all the participants in the Helsinki process.

Out of the tragic lessons of World War II an idea was born, the idea of the **responsibility of the four powers** for ensuring that the threat of war should never again arise from German soil. This idea, as is well known, was incorporated in the Potsdam agreement adopted by the United States, Britain, France, and the Soviet Union, and was later enshrined in the UN Charter.

Relations between the GDR and the FRG could indisputably become a major catalyst for the all-European processes of integration and consolidation, but they could also become a destructive factor if certain limits are crossed and they come into conflict with existing international law and order. It is clearly our common task to ensure that the former possibility is realized and the latter excluded.

For all the nuances in the Europeans' approach to German affairs, one can conclude that they are persistently seeking forms of organic, evolutionary all-European development which could incorporate, without conflict, corresponding efforts to expand and improve cooperation between the two German states. **This process cannot be separated in some way from the general course of dealings between the East and West of Europe.** The more dynamic the process of rapprochement among European states in general and the formation of the structures of cooperation and good-neighborliness between them, the better the preconditions will develop for similar changes in FRG-GDR relations.

This, as we understand it, is the basis of GDR Council of Ministers Chairman H. Modrow's idea of a treaty-based community [dogovornoye soobshchestvo] between the two German states.

Moreover it can hardly be doubted that artificial acceleration of the "inner-German" process and its isolation from the realities that exist in Europe could lead to a major breakdown, which would result in everyone suffering.

In this connection the thoughts voiced by H. Gysi, chairman of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism [SED-PDS], on questions of GDR-FRG relations on 6 January of this year merit serious attention.

His central idea is to reduce military confrontation and strengthen European security.

We welcome H. Gysi's proposal on the withdrawal of all nuclear arms from the GDR and the FRG. The USSR is prepared to discuss without delay the timing of such a withdrawal, verification measures, and appropriate guarantees.

With regard to ridding the territories of the GDR and the FRG of chemical weapons, I wish to stress again that it is not up to us: There are no Soviet chemical weapons in the GDR.

The SED-PDS leadership's call for the phased withdrawal of foreign troops from the two German states by the year 2000 has met with a considerable response. Let me recall that the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the GDR, which is being carried out within the framework of unilateral reductions, is currently continuing. By the end of 1990 their numerical strength will be reduced by 4 tank divisions, an assault landing brigade, 5 training regiments, and 11 separate battalions. The remaining troops are going over to a purely defensive organizational structure.

Different approaches to German affairs are current in the FRG.

True, there are also sober views concerning the need to coordinate efforts toward rapprochement between the two states with the all-European process, and concerning the importance of reducing the military potential of the FRG and the GDR. By way of illustration, one could cite the draft Free Democratic Party program, which proposes a reduction in the numerical strength of the Bundeswehr and the abandonment of certain military programs. These proposals cannot be said to go far enough, but they are evidence of an awareness that the

FRG should make a real contribution to building the edifice of European security.

But along with this, there are the increasingly loud voices of those who would like to resolve the problem by means of swallowing up the GDR and incorporating it wholesale into Western structures.

In practice this would mean a radical change in the correlation of forces in Europe and the undermining of stability on the continent, with all the ensuing consequences. This alternative has nothing in common with the Europe of peace and cooperation that all the participants in the Helsinki process are calling for. **Assuming that with the passage of time the military-political status of the two German states will change, any such process must take account of the interests of all-European stability.** The same can be said about reducing the presence of foreign troops on GDR and FRG territory.

Equally contradictory positions are stated in Bonn on the question of European borders. While FRG Foreign Minister H.D. Genscher openly advocates that "all Germans, both in the FRG and in the GDR, state clearly and unequivocally that neither today nor in future, neither separately nor together, will they call into question Poland's western border," other FRG Government spokesmen continue to keep quiet on this point, evidently not ruling out the possibility of raising the question of changing the borders in the future.

This is not a question on which ambiguity or a lack of clarity can remain. The borders are the most sensitive nerve, directly affecting the security of every European state. **If we want to live in peace, this nerve must not be touched.**

Nor can I pass over another question. The European public is watching with unconcealed anxiety the way in which direct interference in the GDR's internal affairs and in the election campaign that is under way there increases every day.

Prominent FRG politicians openly declare the intention of participating personally in election events on GDR territory.

And West German groupings of a frankly neo-Nazi hue, like the well-known "Republican" party, are not lagging behind the party political establishment.

In the face of all these factors one cannot avoid the conclusion that certain circles in the FRG have patently set a course of unceremonious interference in the preparations for elections in the other German state.

While welcoming the accord between the GDR and the FRG on beginning important talks between them on a whole range of practical questions as a constructive step, we express support for the majority of GDR citizens, who resolutely reject any attempts to impose a future on the country from outside. We are impressed by their desire to determine their country's fate themselves and to decide questions of the relationship with the FRG on a basis of equality and mutual respect.

One would like to believe that in the FRG, realism, circumspection, and a sense of its historical responsibility for the preservation of peace and stability in Europe will ultimately prevail. We say this all the more hopefully in view of the fact that the FRG Government has repeatedly noted the organic link between the interests and futures of the European peoples.

And so the development of events in Europe, as urgent problems accumulate, places on the agenda **the need for their collective discussion.** The proposal put forward by M.S. Gorbachev in Rome on convening an all-European summit meeting in 1990 is meeting with wide support.

Such a meeting is extremely necessary.

First and foremost, the signing of agreements on conventional arms and confidence-building measures will be associated with such a meeting.

The state leaders have to define ways of further surmounting the military confrontation in Europe and, in general, clarify and coordinate a European political agenda for the coming years. Is not the time ripe for discussing the question of the role and place of military-political alliances in the Europe of the future and their transformation into political structures?

It is also important for the heads of state and government to give more concrete guidelines for the holding of the summit meeting of the CSCE states planned for 1992. There is a relatively wide understanding that it is necessary to talk about the permanent structures of the all-European process and its working bodies, coordination mechanisms, and expert groups.

We would be in favor of gradually working toward setting up a Foreign Ministers Committee within the CSCE framework. Many other interesting ideas have been put forward: the creation of a center for reducing the danger of war and preventing surprise attacks, the setting up of organs for the provision of urgent ecological assistance, and the founding of a European human rights institute. In other words, there are more than enough topics for an exchange of opinions at the highest level. And this, I think, answers the question raised by British Prime Minister M. Thatcher, who, while being well disposed in general toward the idea of a summit meeting, nonetheless asked me what could result from such a meeting.

In my view, if the leaders reached a consensus on only some of the questions submitted for their discussion and declared their common will in a concluding document—a communique or declaration —this would be a major step of worldwide significance.

Naturally, the outlines of such a document still have to be formulated. Fortunately we have a tried and tested technique for collective work within the framework of the CSCE process. In the course of the "Open Skies"

Conference in Canada in February, the European states' foreign ministers could agree on how to use this technique for preparatory work and what to work toward in practice.

Thus the outlines of the work of an all-European meeting in 1990 are sufficiently clearly visible, to us at least.

In general we are in favor of the leaders of the states participating in the all-European process meeting on a more systematic basis. If it is true that, translated from the Greek, the word "Europe" means "he who sees far," then the far-sighted wisdom of an all-European politician should be expressed to the full extent in an awareness of the importance and significance of intensive political dialogue in the conditions of rapid changes in the world.

Continued Reportage on Environmental Forum

Lukyanov, Finnish Premier Confer

PM1901095390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Jan 90 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report under general headline: "Official Reports"]

[Text] A.I. Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet and candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, received 16 January Finnish Premier K. Sorsa, who has arrived in Moscow to take part in the international congress "Global Forum on Environmental Problems and Development for Survival."

Questions of the further development of interparliamentary ties and participation by the two countries' parliaments in implementing the accords reached during the October 1989 Soviet-Finnish summit were discussed.

H. Talvitie, Finnish ambassador to the USSR, took part in friendly talks which were held in the spirit of mutual understanding and cooperation that typifies relations between the two countries.

Shevardnadze, UN Heads Meet

LD1801200990 Moscow TASS in English 1931 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 18 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze today conferred with the heads of four U.N. specialised institutions and bodies, who arrived in Moscow to attend the global forum on environment and development for survival.

They are Federico Mayor, director-general of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), William Draper, administrator of the U.N. Development Programme (UNDP), James Grant and Nafis Sadik, executive directors of the U.N. Children's Fund and the U.N. Population Fund respectively. They discussed in a free and creative atmosphere how to enhance the effectiveness of these international organisations in solving vital human problems and boost their cooperation with the Soviet Union. Shevardnadze stressed that the USSR's new conceptual approaches to the mechanisms of multilateral interaction, stemming from Mikhail Gorbachev's speech at the United Nations Organisation, also aim at this.

The directors of the U.N. bodies spoke out in support of new thinking and perestroyka processes in the USSR. They noted that the guideposts for de-ideologisation and the removal of confrontation from the activity of international organisations, for ensuring the universal nature of their membership and rationalising work attune with the sentiments of the entire world community.

Federico Mayor singled out UNESCO's integrative role in the modern world. The Soviet side pointed again to the striving to make a constructive and innovative contribution to humanising, with the UNESCO's aid, international relations, and to mankind's cultural values.

Gorbachev Congratulates Perez de Cuellar

LD1901091390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0800 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has congratulated UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar on his 70th birthday. "The Soviet Union salutes you as a major contemporary figure and as an experienced politician who is universally recognized for your considerable personal contribution to the improvement of the international situation, the rebirth of the United Nation's universal role, and primarily, of the peace-making functions of this organization," the telegram says. "Your noble and difficult mission which is based on [operetsya] the foundation of the UN Charter and on the authority of the world community enjoys our respect and invariable support." Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev wished Perez de Cuellar further successes in his lofty responsible post and great personal happiness. "I am convinced that your noble activity will continue to serve the ideals of drawing the United Nations closer together and positively transforming the world on the basis of common human values. You can count completely on the support of our country in that," the message says.

Prospects For Helsinki-2 Conference Analyzed

LD1801193890 Moscow TASS in English 1904 GMT 18 Jan 90

[By TASS political analyst Albert Balebanov]

[Text] Moscow January 18 TASS—West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl supported Mikhail Gorbachev's proposal to hold a meeting of leaders of countries that participated in the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe as early as in 1990.

Kohl said at the French Institute for International Relations on Wednesday that Helsinki-Two conference may become the starting point for the European rapprochement.

The Soviet proposal had earlier been welcomed by President Francois Mitterand of France, Italian leaders and leaders of other East and West European countries.

All this clearly shows that Gorbachev's proposal is timely and meets everybody's interests.

The meeting would enable Europeans to end the cold war and turn Europe into a continent of peace, confidence and cooperation. Right are those European leaders who suggest that problems of confidence and security-building and disarmament should be the main themes of Helsinki-Two forum.

It would be impossible to hold the forum if it were not for the progress achieved in disarmament, which is shown, specifically, by the Soviet-American treaty on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles.

The first agreement on the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe could be signed at the summit level during the Helsinki process.

These are favourable conditions for the successful conclusion of such talks. Kohl's support for the idea of a new European summit will speed up the course of the Vienna talks on conventional armaments. The West German chancellor rightly said that the end to East-West confrontation and broad democratic movements in Europe open good opportunities for overcoming the division of Europe, and of Germany, in a peaceful way.

The question of reunification of the two German states should be decided within the framework of the European process, on the basis of respect for the inviolability of the existing frontiers, taking into account the interests of all sides as regards security and preservation of stability in Europe.

Questions of economic, scientific and technological cooperation apparently will be discussed by the Helsinki forum. The institution of a European bank for reconstruction and development is of great importance in this respect.

The bank would open the opportunities for consolidating existing economic relations and establishing new ties for the strengthening of confidence through growing interdependence.

Discriminatory trade restrictions imposed by the West within the framework of Cocom (Coordinating Committee on Export Controls) seem to be an anachronism and hamper the development of East-West relations. There is no doubt that the Helsinki-Two forum can and must be held. Its success depends on all its participants taking into consideration each other's interests and concerns.

World Reaction to Transcaucasus Events Reported

PM1801130190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 1

[A. Ivanko roundup: "Events in Transcaucasia, Reactions Abroad"]

[Text] The situation in Transcaucasia, in light of the adopted USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree declaring a state of emergency in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] and certain other areas, is a central theme in the world's news media reports. International agencies carry detailed accounts of Soviet press and TASS reports.

The U.S. CBS Network has managed to get hold of film showing events in Gyandzha last Sunday. According to REUTER, the film shows Armenian and Azerbaijani combatants' actions.

Commenting on events in Transcaucasia, White House spokesman M. Fitzwater has said: "The situation in Azerbaijan and Armenia is extremely complex. We are aware of the need to restore order once it is violated; this is exactly the situation as of now. However, we hope that a minimum of force will be used. We recognize the right of any state to ensure the safety of its citizens, which is the main objective in the present situation."

Much attention is being paid to Iran's reaction. The Iranian Government has expressed concern at the situation which has taken shape. According to M. Va'ezi, Iranian deputy minister of foreign affairs, only "a peaceful solution of the problems which have arisen, taking account of the people's opinion, can prepare the ground for an end to the violence." IRNA, the Iranian news agency, cites the deputy minister's remarks during his meeting with the Soviet ambassador which testify to the restrained stance adopted by Iran. He is quoted as saying that Iran is prepared to spare no effort to assist the Soviet side in settling the situation.

M. Va'ezi said that Iran will speed up the solution of questions connected with the expansion of tourist exchanges and cultural ties between Azerbaijan and Iran. Specifically, it is a question of building various facilities to receive some 50,000 guests a year.

IRNA reports: On Tuesday, the first day after the introduction of the state of emergency, 30 people swam across the Araks and ended up in Iran. According the the West German DPA agency, as a result of events in Transcaucasia, the Iranian Government is having to take steps to prevent clashes between Muslim Azerbaijanis and Christian Armenians living in the Iranian province of West Azarbayjan. (Some 400,000 Armenians live in Iran).

The Turkish Foreign Ministry has announced heightened security measures on the Soviet-Turkish border. The Foreign Ministry statement notes that Turkey is concerned about the events in Soviet Transcaucasia, but regards that as an internal affair of the USSR and is prepared to offer necessary humanitarian aid.

In New York, in front of the Soviet permanent UN mission premises, a demonstration has been staged by Americans of Armenian origin. M. Sogomyan, spokesman for the Armenian National Committee (the demonstration organizer), declared that the Soviet Union "must act more swiftly and resolutely to forestall violence."

UPI and REUTER report: Events in Transcaucasia have affected the situation on the London and New York stock exchanges. The rate of the West German mark and the shares of certain FRG companies have fallen. The explanation is a lack of confidence on the part of many people in respect of the situation in the USSR, and consequently East Europe. As businessman K. Heinzen put it: "When you hear bad news from the Soviet Union, you get worried." For the same reason, the dollar rate has slightly risen in relation to the FRG mark. UPI notes: As conflict situations exacerbate, financiers switch to the dollar. According to REUTER, most businessmen are now studying political rather than economic problems.

United States & Canada

Shevardnadze, Nishanov Receive Senator Bentsen

LD1801234590 Moscow TASS in English 2258 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 19 TASS—U.S. Senator Lloyd Bentsen, who heads the U.S. Senate Budget Committee, was staying in the Soviet Union from January 16 to 18. He was received by Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze.

Bentsen also conferred with Rafik Nishanov, chairman of the Council of nationalities, and Konstantin Katushev, Soviet minister of foreign economic relations. They discussed the further development and deepening of commercial and economic relations between the USSR and the United States on the basis of the agreements reached at the Soviet-American Mediterranean summit.

The meetings were held in a constructive and business-like atmosphere. The sides expressed mutual striving to deepen ties between the two countries.

Karpov, U.S. Official Discuss Nonproliferation

LD1801173390 Moscow TASS in English 1716 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 18 TASS—A meeting was held here today between Viktor Karpov, deputy Soviet foreign minister, and Elizabeth Verville, deputy assistant to the U.S. secretary of state, to continue discussing the non-proliferation of chemical weapons, missiles and missile technology.

ABC TV Chiefs Meet PRAVDA's Frolov

PM1801145990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Jan 90 Second Edition p 5

[Unattributed report: "Meeting at the Editorial Office"]

[Text] A meeting has been held at the PRAVDA Editorial Office between I.T. Frolov, chief editor of PRAVDA [and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee], and representatives of ABC TV—T. Murphy, chairman of the board of the Capital Cities Association and of ABC; R. Arledge, president of ABC News; J. Bistani [name as transliterated], vice president of ABC News; and P. Salinger, director of the ABC News European Bureau.

During the meeting the guests were briefed on the work of PRAVDA journalists, and questions of cooperation, the development of the mass media under present-day conditions, and topical problems of perestroyka were discussed.

China

Chinese Moves Toward 'Stability' Noted

PM1801114390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent Yu. Savenkov dispatch: "China: Stability Is the Main Task"]

[Text] Beijing—PRC State Council spokesman Yuan Mu has said, as if confirming the conjecture of those people who are attentively watching the development of events in China, that Prime Minister Li Peng had no special reasons for choosing 11 January to repeal martial law in the capital; this was brought about by the natural course of events. Perhaps the only reason was to delight his compatriots on the eve of the traditional spring holiday.

Observers note that this step from the Chinese Government may help U.S. President G. Bush in his move to "repair" bilateral relations, especially since he himself has been criticized in connection with National Security Adviser B. Scowcroft's mission to China.

Observers point out that this step could eventually lead to the abrogation of economic and political sanctions against China. However, the Hong Kong press cites a Japanese Government spokesman to the effect that the abolition of martial law is not enough to restore Sino-Japanese relations to their level before the tragic events of last May-June. But there is considerable evidence that Japanese business circles are striving to improve commercial relations with China. In particular, this March the leaders of 27 Japanese banks are planning a trip to China to assess the situation and the prospects for granting loans.

The State Council spokesman also noted that following the abolition of martial law, the tasks of ensuring security and order fall on state security and armed police units. The troops are moving into the suburbs, most of them having withdrawn from the center prior to the abolition of martial law, where they will help maintain a stable situation. There are currently 150,000 servicemen, police, and armed police personnel within the confines of greater Beijing (including the suburbs).

In response to a question about the fate of Zhao Ziyang, former general secretary of the CPC Central Committee who was relieved of all leadership posts in the party at the July Central Committee plenum, Yuan Mu noted that Zhao is still a member of the party and that his case is a party matter. The investigation into his activity is continuing and will be made public on its conclusion. Yuan Mu also pointed out that Zhao and his family are living in Beijing.

Welcoming the abolition of martial law in Beijing, the progressive RENMIN RIBAO noted: Now that China is implementing socialist modernization, stability is more important than ever. Jiang Zemin, general secretary of

the CPC Central Committee, said the same in a New Year's Eve interview: "Social stability is the main task to be resolved."

Airline Official on Purchase of Soviet Plane

OW1801152990 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 30 Dec 89

[From the "Current Events and Commentaries" program]

[Text] Dear listeners, representatives of the Xinjiang Airlines Company visited the Kuybyshev Aircraft Plant during the last few days of this year to conduct acceptance tests on the Tu-154M passenger aircraft manufactured on order from China's aeronautics industry.

Station reporter Moiseyev filed this report on the spot:

This is the 24th aircraft the Kuybyshev Aircraft Manufacturing Plant has manufactured for the PRC in the past 5 years. On the whole, many Soviet-made airplanes are flying in the skies of China. Now another one will be joining them. The Xinjiang Airlines Company is conducting acceptance tests on this 160-seat Tu-154M passenger aircraft. The Chinese experts had just completed preparations for the test flight when we talked with the head of the acceptance group, Huang Guirong, general manager of the Xinjiang Airlines Company.

[Begin Huang recording] Sino-Soviet relations have developed rapidly. Relations naturally also have developed in the field of aeronautics, which is related to trade between our two countries. When bilateral trade develops, the aeronautics industry will expand. The development of the aeronautics industry has also promoted the development of the two countries' civil aviation. There was only one air route, the Beijing-Moscow route, between the Soviet Union and China up to the 1970's. Two additional air routes were inaugurated this September between Urumqi, China, and Alma Ata in the Soviet Union, and between Harbin, China, and Khabarovsk in the Soviet Union. [end recording]

I want to point out that this aircraft will be serving the Urumqi-Alma-Ata air route. How are the acceptance tests of this aircraft progressing? I am pleased to report that the 18 Chinese experts carefully inspected and accepted each and every meter and system on the aircraft on the ground, and tested the functions of the wheels and the new engine of this Tu-154M aircraft under all conditions within a period of 4 days. The meters and navigational equipment on the aircraft were also tested when the plane was in flight. The aircraft will fly to China after this. I asked Comrade Huang Guirong to explain why Chinese comrades have decided to purchase the Soviet-made aircraft.

[Begin Huang recording] I have used the Soviet aircraft for decades. These planes were in use from the 1950's to the 1970's. We purchased new aircraft in the 1980's. Soviet and Western airplanes each have their own strong and weak points. If we can make up for and learn from each other, the weak points can be turned into strong points. As to why I have decided to buy the Soviet aircraft, airline companies in China buy aircraft on government loans. The state does not buy planes and give them to airlines companies. In terms of price, familiarity to pilots, and geographical conditions, the Soviet planes are more suitable to our region. [end recording]

Northeast Asia

Ulaanbaatar Protest of Command Economy Reported

LD1801123890 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0330 GMT 18 Jan 90

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] A many-thousand-strong demonstration has been held in Ulaanbaatar. We have received a report on the rally which was sanctioned by the authorities. The people protested the command-based administrative system, seeing it as the main cause of all the troubles in the Mongolian economy—and, I might add for myself, not only in the Mongolian economy.

Japan's Abe Comments on Talks With Gorbachev

PM1801112990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jan 90 Second Edition p 6

[Interview in Moscow with Shintaro Abe, Japanese foreign minister and a Japanese Liberal Democratic Party leader, by political commentator Vsevolod Ovchinnikov; date not given: "New Attitudes in a Changing World"]

[Text] Shintaro Abe, prominent figure of Japan's Liberal Democratic Party [LDP], answered PRAVDA political commentator Vsevolod Ovchinnikov's questions before returning from Moscow to Tokyo.

[Ovchinnikov] Mr Abe, your present visit to Moscow is significant for the fact that this is the first time that official contacts have been made at such a high level between the LDP and the CPSU, the ruling parties of our two countries. To what extent were your expectations of this trip justified? How do you rate the results of the meeting with M.S. Gorbachev? In your view, what are the prospects for bilateral relations in the context of the Soviet head of state's forthcoming visit to Japan?

[Abe] Briefly, I am very satisfied with the visit. Its results surpassed my expectations. We were deeply impressed by the fact that despite being tremendously preoccupied with urgent domestic problems, General Secretary Gorbachev found an opportunity to meet with us and to frankly set out his views on the situation in the world, the atmosphere in Asia, and Japanese-Soviet relations, which, I think, can make a fresh start.

During the talks, I expressed support for perestroyka and stressed its importance not only for the Soviet people but

for the whole world. We exchanged opinions on prospects for the further expansion of Japanese-Soviet ties. After the meeting with M.S. Gorbachev, my confidence that they will be favorably influenced by the new trends in East-West relations was strengthened.

I stressed that there is no way to overcome the difficulties between our states other than to move toward resolving them by showing wisdom. And the fact that Chairman Gorbachev reacted positively to that approach is very important for the further development of Japanese-Soviet relations.

Naturally during the conversation we touched on Chairman Gorbachev's visit to Japan, which is due in 1991. My conviction that this visit will be of epoch-making significance was increased. I believe that at present the potential for Japanese-Soviet relations is far from being fully utilized. As we move toward the 21st Century, we can begin a new period in tapping their potential by joint efforts.

[Ovchinnikov] The official report on your meeting with M.S. Gorbachev notes that you put forward an eight-point program. Could you describe it to us in some detail?

[Abe] We proposed this program to help the policy of perestroyka and thereby promote Japanese-Soviet relations. This concerns, in particular, the use of Japan's experience of entrepreneurial activity and production management to increase labor productivity and improve output quality control. The program proposes the holding of seminars and symposiums on questions related to the economic reform. The idea has been put forward of staging a fair in the USSR for Japanese consumer goods and related production equipment. The Soviet Union, in turn, could hold an exhibition of its scientific and technical achievements in Japan.

We would like to time the Soviet-Japanese summit to coincide with a significant expansion of youth exchanges—to invite around 1,000 young Soviet men and women to acquaint themselves with life in Japan. We are ready to give practical assistance to the teaching of Japanese in the USSR and the creation of the relevant departments in Soviet higher educational institutions. This will help to make scientific exchange more effective and deepen mutual understanding between the two neighboring peoples. We propose holding next year a Japanese culture week in the USSR and a Soviet culture week in Japan.

Finally, we would like to broaden cooperation in the humanitarian sphere. When I was foreign minister, the Japanese, with Gorbachev's help, were allowed to visit the cemeteries of their relatives on the islands of Habomai, Shikotan, and Kunashiri. I would like that measure to be applied to Iturup island, too.

Chairman Gorbachev received positively the program that we put forward and promised to reply when these proposals have been studied.

[Ovchinnikov] How do you assess recent events, which are at last making it possible to put an end to the cold war and move from confrontation to partnership?

[Abe] I consider perestroyka in the USSR and the changes in the other socialist countries to be a historic breakthrough and a development in the right direction toward the affirmation of such general human values as freedom, democracy, peace, and well-being. We are pleased that, as a result, there is a move in East-West relations away from the era of confrontation toward an era of cooperation. Of course, in the process of rapid changes it is hard to avoid uncertainty, sometimes even instability. I would like these changes to be overcome for the general good.

[Ovchinnikov] What effect do you think the dramatic changes of late will have on Japan's foreign ties and its position in the world? How will they affect the situation in the Asia and Pacific region? Do you see opportunities for cooperation between the USSR and Japan in solving the urgent problems of this part of the world?

[Abe] There is no doubt that the European Continent has become an arena of historic improvements at this time. And the wave of changes in Eastern Europe was the focus of those improvements. In 2 years it is planned to create a single internal market in West Europe. Japan welcomes those changes. But to acquire a truly global character they must embrace Asia and the Pacific, too.

I am convinced that the changes in West and East Europe will inevitably affect Asia and the Pacific. As Chairman Gorbachev notes in his book on perestroyka, the Asia and Pacific region contains great potential for change which will become apparent in the 21st Century.

To ensure peace and stability in this region, it is necessary through the joint efforts of the interested sides to settle the Cambodian problem and reduce tension on the Korean peninsula. I am convinced that Japan and the USSR can play a significant role in this, and Gorbachev and I exchanged frank opinions on that score.

[Ovchinnikov] In your country many people are saying now that Japan's political role in the modern world must correspond to its economic potential. How do you picture the activation of that role in the nineties? What contribution can Japan make to resolving global problems?

[Abe] The familiar theme of war and peace is now giving way to the theme of mankind's survival or destruction. All the problems which the peoples and states are now encountering—nuclear weapons, the environment, the depletion of resources, the shortage of food, foreign debt, and so on—are directly linked with mankind's survival, a task which no one has the right to shirk.

After World War II Japan carried out a "great experiment" which was unprecedented in history. It managed to become a leading economic power without becoming

a military power. I believe that the changes taking place in the world now demonstrate that this experiment was correct.

By worshipping economic growth and thinking of nothing but the development of material civilization, our contemporaries are sometimes indifferent to the impoverishment of spiritual civilization. It should be realized that it is only by establishing a balance between material and spiritual values that mankind will be able to ensure its survival. All countries and peoples must show general human wisdom and cooperate to this end. Especially with the increase of interdependence in the modern world. As we move toward the 21st century, Tokyo and Moscow must seek ways to cooperate in the sphere of bilateral relations and the solution of problems of the Asia and Pacific region and the whole world.

Delegation Meets Lukyanov, Departs

PM1801145790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Jan 90 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] The Japanese Liberal Democratic Party [LDP] delegation headed by S. Abe, which is in the USSR at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee, has met with A.I. Lukyanov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The exchange of opinions on ways to deepen trust and cooperation between the USSR and Japan—an exchange begun during the delegation's meeting with M.S. Gorbachev—was continued. The important role which the two countries' parliaments could play in this was stressed.

The LDP delegation left for home on the evening of 16 January. It was seen off at the airport by V.M. Falin, member of the CPSU Central Committee and chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, and by other senior officials from this department and from the USSR Foreign Ministry.

Japan's Kaifu Countered on Perestroyka in Asia

OW1901010190 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 13 Jan 90

[TASS commentator Golovnin commentary on Japanese Prime Minister Kaifu's European tour]

[Text] Japanese Prime Minister Kaifu, currently on his European tour, made remarks that were rather unexpected to many people during his talks with French President Mitterrand in Paris. The Japanese Government called itself a victim of Soviet expansionism. Prime Minister Kaifu spoke as if no concrete manifestations of perestroyka carried out in the Soviet Union could be observed in Asia. Meanwhile, the Japanese Government spokesman added an explanation to Prime Minister Kaifu's remarks and said that the prime minister was referring to the territorial issue, the problem pending in Soviet-Japanese relations.

Politically speaking, it is certainly no accident that Prime Minister Kaifu would have made such remarks on this recent occasion. More often than ever before, Japanese leaders have been recently repeating a ready-made statement prepared by the Japanese Foreign Ministry which says that no results either of perestroyka or of new thinking carried out in the Soviet Union could be observed in Asia.

Japanese leaders have insisted on their views even after the start of the abolition of 436 units of INF missiles in the eastern Soviet Union in accordance with the treaty on the INF complete abolition signed between the Soviet Union and the United States; even after it had become clear that the Soviet Union had continued withdrawing its troops from Mongolia; and even after an official statement was made on reducing Soviet military strength in the eastern Soviet Union, including 120,000 troops in the Soviet Far East, by 200,000 troops.

Moreover, the Japanese Government has chosen a position of not admitting various basic changes in the situation that have taken place in Asia—such as the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan and activated processes of political settlement of the Cambodian issue. Herein lies the problem. Of course, it is not because Japan does not have sufficient information or experiences in dealing with issues on international relationships. On the contrary, by stating that the cold war is still going on in Asia, and that the Soviet Union has adopted an expansionist policy in Asia, the Japanese leadership is apparently attempting to justify the fact that it has made no progress in its foreign strategy during the past decade. Those people who have a great influence on the Japanese Government still feel that the old idea concerning strict confrontation between the East and West is beneficial to Japan.

As of this date, in return for its unconditional support for the U.S. Government's anti-Soviet line, Japan has been compensated in the form of a generous attitude on the part of the United States and its allies in dealing with issues caused by strict economic frictions between Japan and the United States. What is more important, however, is the fact that the Japanese Government has now become a victim of its strict policy of not making any compromise with the Soviet Union. The core of the issue lies in its demand for the return of part of the Kuril Islands.

As a result, Japan has been cut off in many respects from the rapidly developing processes of the so-called building of a bridge between the socialist community and capitalist nations. This certainly has aroused apprehensions in the Japanese Government. It is quite apparent that Prime Minister Kaifu's tour of both East and West Europe is Japan's attempt not to be left behind in the international dialogue that has been strengthened

recently. Nevertheless, it will not be easy for Japan to settle this issue if Japan does not intend to admit the policy of new thinking which the Soviet Union has been pursuing.

IZVESTIYA Previews Yeltsin Visit to Japan

PM1801170090 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent S. Agafonov report: "B. Yeltsin in Japan"]

[Text] Tokyo—Last Sunday [14 January] B.N. Yeltsin, USSR Supreme Soviet deputy, chairman of the Committee for Construction and Architecture Questions, and member of the CPSU Central Committee, arrived in Tokyo for a 10-day visit.

A fairly busy program awaits him in Japan, including meetings and lecture appearances in Sapporo, Osaka, and Hiroshima, as well as the Japanese capital.

The initiative to invite B.N. Yeltsin to Japan came from one of the country's leading television companies, TBS (channel six), with the participation, in addition to TBS, of the newspaper MAINICHI, the research association for Asian problems, and the Japanese society for the promotion of diplomacy, which is a subsidiary of the Japanese Foreign Ministry.

The events on the program for the visit include, in particular, meetings with Japanese Prime Minister Kaifu and Foreign Minister Nakayama, a talk with representatives of business circles, an exchange of opinions with the leadership of leading opposition parties, and a visit to the Tokyo stock exchange. A press conference for B.N. Yeltsin at the Japanese correspondents' club and a series of interviews for the mass media are also planned.

This Monday [15 January] is a holiday in Japan, so the business part of the visit begins on Tuesday; B.N. Yeltsin is to deliver a lecture on the problems of perestroyka at the Imperial Hotel, and will give a press conference for Japanese journalists. By agreement, the honorarium paid to the guest for the lecture and interview will be devoted to the purchase of disposable syringes for Soviet health service needs in Japan.

DPRK Ambassador Honored for Contribution

SK1901075590 Moscow International Service in Korean 1330 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Talk from the "Annals of Friendship" program]

[Text] In the Hall of Friendship in Moscow on 11 November 1989, an honorary medal, "Recognition of Contribution to the Cause of Friendship," was conferred upon Comrade Kwan Hui-kyong, DPRK ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Soviet Union.

Now, you are going to hear the station correspondent's report from the spot.

[Announcer speaking for reporter] Comrade Kwan Hui-kyong, DPRK ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Soviet Union, is a frequent visitor to this hall. He has made many visits to the hall for ceremonies and celebrations on days that are meaningful to the people in our two countries, for conferences, and for social meetings with the social representatives in the capital Moscow, and other important occasions.

Once again he visited the hall today, for the last time before leaving for home after 15 years of his stint as DPRK ambassador to the Soviet Union.

Leaders of the Union of the Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries and Soviet-Korean Friendship Society Central Committee, activists of the Friendship Society, and reporters gathered in the hall warmly welcomed Comrade Kwan Hui-kyong.

Valentina Tereshkova, chairwoman of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries, spoke before the participants in the meeting.

[Begin Tereshkova recording in Russian fading into Korean translation] Valentina Tereshkova thanked Comrade Kwan Hui-kyong for the great contributrion he has made to strengthening the friendship and cooperation between our two countries and for cooperating with two mass social organizations such as the Soviet-Korean Friendship Society and Korean-Soviet Friendship Society in their activities.

Speaking to the ambassador, Valentina Tereshkova said: [announcer speaking for Tereshkova] Before long, you are leaving our country for home. However, we want you to remember that we will still remember you as the Soviet people's true friend who has done many things for better understanding between the working people of our two countries and for continued development in their friendship and cooperation.

Dear Comrade Kwan Hui-kyong, from the bottom of our hearts we wish you success in your new duty. [applause] [end recording]

Amid the applause from many participants, Valentina Tereshkova conferred on Comrade Kwan Hui-kyong the highest citation of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries.

Following this, Comrade Kwan Hui-kyong was given the rostrum.

[Begin Kwan recording] I wholeheartedly thank you for highly appreciating my 15 years in Moscow as DPRK ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary and for having conferred, as its symbol, on me a (souvenir) medal of the Union of the Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries Central Committee.

In the future, as in the past, I will continue making every effort possible to strengthen and develop the relations of friendship and cooperation between the Soviet Union and Korea, together with the activists of the Soviet-Korean Friendship Society and others who are present here with us, as hoped for by all the Soviet people. [end recording]

Increase of Political Prisoners in ROK Reported

SK1801050790 Moscow International Service in Korean 1100 GMT 17 Jan 90

[From "Asian News" from the "Focus on Asia" program]

[Text] According a report from the magazine "Amnesty International" published in London, the number of prisoners in the ROK [hanguk] who were imprisoned for political reasons increased last year. The magazine reported: The number of imprisoned persons was as high as several hundreds. They were tortured. Among these prisoners are those who visited the DPRK without receiving the approval of ROK authorities.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Philippines Referendum Said Ploy To Keep U.S Bases

PM1801165190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jan 90 Second Edition p 1

[Dispatch by unnamed own correspondent: "What To Do With the Bases"]

[Text] Manila, 14 Jan—To judge from articles in local newspapers, all the world's major news agencies have commented on Philippine President C. Aquino's statement that foreign military bases on other people's territories are losing their significance now that USSR-U.S. relations are improving and tumultuous changes are taking place in East Europe.

In the context of internal Philippine politics this seemingly incontrovertible opinion is perceived ambivalently. The point is that R. Manglapus, the country's foreign minister, has proposed holding a national referendum on the bases problem. It is known, however, that a referendum is a weapon of the local supporters of keeping the bases for an indefinite extra period. Public opinion polls show that for one reason or another the majority of Filipinos consider their continued preservation desirable.

Although the Pentagon and a section of the U.S. Administration retain the firm intention of holding on to the bases, many U.S. legislators, given the present international realities, are inclined to believe that they are gradually becoming unnecessary and, most importantly, a burden on the budget.

Positions at Conference on Cambodia Surveyed

PM1801120590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent Yu. Kovalenko dispatch: "Cambodia: Extinguishing the Blaze of the Conflict"]

[Text] Paris—A meeting of representatives of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council is taking place in Paris at the International Conference Center on Avenue Kleber. It aims to seek ways to find a peaceful settlement to the Cambodian conflict, which has been in progress for more than 10 years.

The participants in the Paris conference centered their attention on the plan put forward by Australian Foreign Minister G. Evans, which makes provision for holding elections in Cambodia with UN participation, using the so-called "Namibia formula." Its innovativeness resides in the fact that it makes it possible to get around a highly complex question—the question of forming a provisional government in the country in the transitional period and of holding elections straightaway. This plan also makes provision for sending multilateral UN forces to Cambodia to supervise a truce agreement, along with a representative of this organization, to govern the country during the transitional period.

Other initiatives are also being considered in Paris, particularly a Soviet initiative on introducing a moratorium on military aid to all combatant sides, which has been supported by the United States, and also an Indonesian proposal to hold an informal meeting in Jakarta of representatives of all Cambodian political forces, the states of Southeast Asia, and France as cochairman of the Paris conference on Cambodia.

I would remind you that following last August's conference in Paris, during which it proved impossible to resolve the problem of a peaceful settlement, Vietnam withdrew its troops, creating what would appear to be every condition for a new round of talks. However, instead of this, the opposition began active military operations, hoping to secure success on the battlefield. But the combat operations showed that there is not and cannot be a military solution to the Cambodian problem. It can only be found at the negotiating table.

The present meeting of representatives of the UN Security Council permanent members was preceded by bilateral consultations between them and Soviet diplomats' tours of the countries of Southeast Asia and China. As a result, international consensus has been achieved today on the Evans plan. It is supported by all Security Council member countries and other states. Only the "Khmer Rouge" oppose it. That is why, as observers point out unanimously, a great deal depends on the position of China, the country that supports them.

Of late, the Western countries' stance on Cambodia has undergone substantial changes. This primarily applies to France, which is refusing to compromise at all with the Pol Pot supporters and believes that under present

conditions the Phnom Penh government is the only force capable of preventing the "Khmer Rouge's" return to power. Paris, LE MONDE writes, will assist any diplomatic action that will help this government.

This change of position, observers emphasize, is connected with the fact that Norodom Sihanouk, on whom people in Paris and other Western capitals were gambling, has been unable to facilitate the peace process. Another reason is the activation of offensive operations by opposition forces and the international public's misgivings over the possible restoration of the genocidal regime.

The "Khmer Rouge" are still the main obstacle to peace. In these conditions, many states believe that the United Nations must perform its peacekeeping mission. For his part, UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar has stated that the United Nations is prepared to take part in resolving the Cambodian problem and last year he sent a special mission to Cambodia and Thailand. At the same time he stressed that this question must be studied comprehensively, as this will be an extremely costly operation, requiring considerably more funds than that in Namibia. However, it is extremely necessary to extinguish the regional conflict in Cambodia that poses a danger to the whole world. It is the Paris meeting's task to facilitate this.

NHAN DAN Cited on Press Freedom Law

PM1901094390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Jan 90 Second Edition p 6

[Unattributed report: "NHAN DAN"]

[Text] The press law recently adopted in the SRV is exceptionally important for the Vietnamese people's political and social life, the newspaper NHAN DAN writes.

Freedom of speech and freedom of the press are two of the inalienable rights enjoyed by the country's citizens. In adopting this law, the state is creating favorable conditions for implementing this most important human right. On the other hand, the press, in carrying out this lofty mission, is obliged to provide accurate information on life in the country and abroad, to actively participate in propagandizing and explaining party and state policy, to promote the dissemination of everything that is new and progressive, and to combat negative phenomena and lawbreaking.

But the activity of the press should not be aimed at splitting national cohesion, nor should it lead to the revelation of state secrets, promote the propaganda of violence, or result in the distortion of reality and the infringement of human dignity. In our situation, if newspapers act in full accordance with the law, freedom of the press will be fully ensured despite the lack of private newspapers, the article notes.

The adoption of the law attests to the steady implementation of the renewal policy elaborated by the Sixth Communist Party of Vietnam Congress and corresponds to the overall trend toward the expansion of democracy and glasnost.

Near East & South Asia

Declaration of Emergency on Iran Border Defended

NC1901102290 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Persian to Iran 1530 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Sergey Salgirov commentary]

[Text] Vladimir Gudev, the Soviet ambassador to Iran, has briefed Iranian officials on the trend of events in the southern regions of the Transcaucasus. In a meeting with Iranian Deputy Foreign Minister Va'ezi, he stressed that the policy of protecting the people's lives and the need to end the bloodshed and nationalistic strife had necessitated the declaration of a state of emergency in these areas.

In response to Mr Gudev's remarks regarding the occurrence of clashes and violence in the southern Transcaucasian regions, Mr Va'ezi expressed apprehension. He also stressed Iran's adherence to the policy of noninterference in another country's internal affairs. The Iranian diplomat voiced the opinion that the issues pertaining to the southern Transcaucasian regions which had had a negative impact on the situation should be resolved in a spirit of restraint and equanimity.

Iran's anxiety over the events in the Transcaucasian regions, whether from the political point of view or from a general humanitarian point of view, is quite understandable. Instability in the area can hamper the progress of neighborly relations between the Soviet Union and Iran—relations which progressed very considerably after the historic visit of Mr Hashemi-Rafsanjani, the present president of Iran.

It would be appropriate to point out that the boosting of Soviet-Iranian cooperation was only possible as a result of the restructuring of the domestic and foreign policy of the Soviet Union. However, the representatives of nationalistic and secessionist groups in the southern Transcaucasian regions are trying to inflict blows on the process of restructuring. By inciting sedition, they have embroiled the maximum number of people in the clashes and are instigating armed clashes.

There are some who are trying to capitalize on the religious susceptibilities and historical bonds of the Azerbaijanis, Armenians, and other nationalities resident on both sides of the Iranian-Soviet border, for their own interests. It is being alleged that the state of emergency has been declared in order to repress the freedom-loving sentiments of the inhabitants of the Southern Transcaucasian areas, the Islamic nature of the Azerbaijanis, and the religious sensitivities of the Armenian Christians, and is aimed at preventing contacts between

the residents of the Soviet Transcaucasus and their relatives on the other side of the border.

This is a mere figment of the imagination which stems from prejudice, and has no resemblance to reality. Naturally the declaration of an emergency is not a popular step, but it was a necessary expedient in view of the extraordinary situation that had been created. Cities and villages were being fired upon, hostages were being taken, there was disorder in the border regions, and attempts were being made at the armed overthrow of the local councils. It was in reaction to the distress and hardship experienced by the people that the country's higher organizations had to approve the order for the declaration of a state of emergency.

In the past, despite all the measures adopted, the situation did not return to normal in the region and wisdom did not overcome sensitivities. Regardless of the bitterness of the situation, we should accept that we were compelled to resort to force to stem animosity. Force is being used in the name of life and humanitarianism; it is not being used to continue the bloodshed but to halt it. The emergency was declared to protect the restructuring trend, a trend which opened up new horizons for the expression of the freedom loving and creative sentiments of the Soviet people, including the Azerbaijanis and the Armenians.

Iranian publications also stress that the restructuring trend enforces and strengthens the real freedom of conscience and respect for religions, so how can a state of emergency be motivated by a desire to repress the religious sentiments of the people? How is it possible that the announcement of an emergency will prevent contacts between people on the Iranian-Soviet border? It was in the era of restructuring that certain steps were taken with the aim of eliminating all restrictions on such contacts. These steps include the signing of an accord to ease travel and tourism between the Soviet Union and Iran.

In view of the present circumstances, these facts are well recognized in Iran. The TEHRAN TIMES writes that Iran does not plan to capitalize on the events on the Soviet border for its own advantage. It affirms that the Soviet Union should rest assured that Iran will never forge contacts with the forces which are [words indistinct] of the Soviet Union. Those who are trying to pitch two neighbors against one another will be disappointed.

400 Muslims Leave Iran After Brief Reunion

LD1801155290 Tehran IRNA in English 1442 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Text] Poldasht (E. Azarbayjan), Jan. 18, IRNA—Hundreds of Iranian border residents saw off some 400 of their Muslim brethren from across the Aras River return to Soviet Azerbaijan Thursday.

During the emotion-filled 4-hour farewell ceremony, both hosts and guests vociferously cried Allah-u-akbar (God is the greatest). The Soviet Azeris who share a common religion, culture, lanaguage and even family ties with their Iranian brethren, left abord two boats after several days stay in the Islamic Republic.

The Soviet guests appreciated the hospitality accorded them by their Iranian kinsmen, and received as parting gifts, volumes of the holy Koran, prayer books and other souvenirs.

For the past few weeks despite freezing temperatures, River Aras which divides Soviet Azerbaijan from the Iranian side, has seen massive gatherings especially on its northern banks, with several Soviet Muslims crossing into Iran.

According to reports from the areas, no gathering took place on the Soviet side of the border today, probably due to the state of emergency declared in Soviet Azerbaijan.

Allegations of USSR-Syrian Tensions Refuted

PM1801113590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by own correspondent M. Kozhevnikov: "Military Specialists Continue Their Work"]

[Text] Recently Western and some Arab news organs have been spreading rumors about "complications" in Soviet-Syrian relations—in particular, the reduction of cooperation between Moscow and Damascus.

I asked USSR Ambassador to Syria A.I. Zotov to comment on this report: "The composition of the group of Soviet military advisers and specialists working in the country is the same as that laid down by the 1967 treaty on military-technical cooperation between the USSR and Syria. Its size and the nature of its activities have always been regulated solely on the basis of initiatives and requests from the Syrian side.

"Last year, 1989, was a year of active and fruitful cooperation between our countries in the military sphere.

"As is known, in 1989 the USSR defense minister, the commander in chief of the country's air defense forces, and other Soviet military commanders paid visits to Syria. The talks that took place and the level and nature of the dialogue are convincing evidence of the Soviet military and political leadership's constant course vis-a-vis friendly Syria."

According to the SANA news agency, Syrian Information Minister M. Salman has categorically rejected as totally unfounded reports by some news media of a cut in the number of Soviet military specialists in Syria.

Possible Solutions to Afghan Problem Examined

LD1801174890 Moscow TASS in English 1721 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 18 TASS—By TASS commentator Oleg Kuzmin:

Afghan rebels are living through difficult times. Hopes for the quick downfall of the Najibullah government after the withdrawal of Soviet troops vanished into thin air after abortive attempts to capture Jalalabad and Qandhahar last spring.

Exasperation against one another, which was brewing for years, flared into savage clashes between various groups in the "Alliance of the Seven".

Relations of the "Alliance" with foreign patrons, above all with Americans, have also become cool. Judging by some reports, the United States now doubts the need to aid the Afghan "resistance".

Last but not least, the "interim government", formed in opposition to the legitimate regime in Kabul, is crumbling down.

Under these circumstances, when the "Islamic Movement" is on the verge of a distaster, 'Abdul Rasul Sayyaf, "prime minister of the interim government", announced elections to a "Grand Assembly" (Loya Jerga) on behalf of other leaders of the "Alliance".

According to the schemes of the opposition leaders, these elections should be held in over 200 "electoral counties" of Afghanistan.

It is indicative that delegates from areas under Kabul's control will be elected by refugees. Parties of the "Alliance" will enjoy extensive representation at the "assembly": 15 delegates from each party.

According to Sayyaf's plan, the task of this body will be two elect a parliament, which, in turn, will form a new government to replace the "interim".

This plan is designed to raise the prestige and to impart legality to the association of opposition organisations, which hopes to put under its control the "assembly", "parliament" and the "new government".

These are the schemes of the Peshawar opposition. The response was immediate both from Kabul and from "dissidents" among the rebels.

President Najibullah said that "the establishment of a new opposition government, far from according with the Afghan people's desire to end the war, contradicts a U.N. General Assembly resolution calling for a dialogue between the warring sides."

Najibullah recalled Kabul's proposal to convene a council in the Afghan capital with the participation of all the warring sides. The council will seek to find ways for a political settlement.

Gulbuddin Hikmatyar, leader of the "Islamic Party of Afghanistan", which withdrew from the "interim government", spurned down Sayyar's plan. His spokesman described the plan as a "futile attempt to form a representative government".

"It will be no better than the present 'interim cabinet', which could not assert itself in Afghanistan," he added. A similar stand was taken by Shi'ite opposition groups.

Their representative Farzand said: "Sayyaf's plan is not acceptable to us, and we shall plot our own road towards elections in Afghanistan".

There are various ways out of the present situation. However, any one of them should provide for equal participation in a settlement of all forces representing any large Afghan group.

The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan is also a major force backed by many hundred thousands of Afghan citizens. This party proposed the only realistic plan to end the war by forming a broad-based coalition government.

Soviet Proposal for Iran-Iraq Talks Discussed

NC1801210890 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1100 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Interview with analyst Aleksandr Batyev by unidentified announcer; Batyev speaks in Russian fading into Persian translation]

[Text] [Announcer] Dear listeners, Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati has said that Iran does not disagree in principle with the Soviet proposal on mediating in the Iran-Iraq peace talks. We asked our analyst Aleksandr Batyev to comment on this proposal.

[Batyev] The Soviet proposal has not yet materialized. As was announced, this proposal is still being drafted. Nevertheless, one can say that the mere fact that it was brought up speaks of a further activation of the Iran-Iraq peace talks on solving joint problems. Any slackening in the pace of the talks poses an increasing danger and the situation in the region may become uncontrollable.

Thus it is natural that recently both Iran and Iraq applied to the permanent members of the UN Security Council, of which the Soviet Union is one, to request assistance in improving relations between the two countries.

In accordance with this request, the Soviet Union proposed holding a tripartite meeting among the foreign ministers of the Soviet Union, Iran, and Iraq.

[Announcer] But why was it the Soviet Union which put forward this proposal? The Security Council has five permanent members.

[Batyev] In the first place, the Soviet Union was, until the establishment of the cease-fire, the only major country that had normal relations with both Iran and Iraq. Second, the Soviet Union is being chosen as the

venue for this meeting because of its policy of new thinking. This policy calls for reaching political solutions to problems between countries by carefully considering the interests of all parties concerned. Only on this basis can logical solutions be found.

Extending mediatory efforts to end international conflicts in one region or another of the world is within the framework of this policy. The Soviet Union has used this policy in solving complicated problems in Afghanistan, Cambodia, the Near East, and southern Africa. This policy instills trust in Moscow and, thanks to this, Iran and Iraq are becoming increasingly convinced that the meeting among the three countries' foreign ministers should be held in the Soviet capital.

Commentary Views Sudanese Policy Shifts

EA1701225990 Moscow International Service in Amharic 1530 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Commentary by Aleksandr Fedorov]

[Text] According to information from Sudan, there appear to be changes in Sudanese policy. Sudan and Uganda have decided to establish and station units of security guards on their common borders. The two neighboring countries reached this agreement when the Ugandan leader Yoweri Museveni met and held talks with a Sudanese delegation led by Brigadier Dominic Kassiano.

The other news of the week is that the Sudanese Government has released the former prime minister of the country, Sadiq al- Mahdi, from prison, and put him under (?house arrest). When one looks at these two reports, one is hesitant to say whether or not changes are being made in Sudanese policy. However, when we compare the border issue between Sudan and Uganda with relations with neighboring countries, and remember that it is [words indistinct] we can see that the issue was serious.

In a country where people are lashed in public and where [words indistinct] filled with brutality prevails, the release of the former Sudanese prime minister comes as a marvelous act.

Since the talks between representatives of the Sudanese Government and the Sudanese People's Liberation Army [SPLA] in Nairobi were broken off, the fighting has not been favorable for the regime led by Gen al-Bashir.

According to a recent report by the SPLA Radio station, Kajo Kaji town on the Sudan-Uganda border has been captured by the rebels, and the government troops in the area were obliged to retreat to the Juba area. During the (?emergency) population census, the authorities could not get the desired results. According to Egyptian newspaper accounts, there was an attempt to (?isolate) the Khartoum-based Popular Democratic Union and other opposition forces under the cover of a population census. Besides the SPLA, it is also appropriate to take into account the threat of other opposition forces against the military government. They have said they will stage a general strike. It should be recalled that the general strikes staged in 1964 and 1985 resulted in the downfall of the governments at the time and led to their replacement. [Passage indistinct] coupled with the economic crisis has put the government under great pressure.

The government budget, which has doubled in a year, and price increases—for example sugar, which has gone up in price by 140 percent—and other economic problems will not be solved unless the war is curbed and foreign economic aid is secured. This being the case, Gen al-Bashir has been obliged to make changes in his domestic and foreign policies, and to desist from popularizing his iron [word indistinct] program. Furthermore, the government's adherence to (?negotiations) more than in the past might result in constructive pressure on the [words indistinct] of the SPLA. It should be recalled that [words indistinct] adopted an arrogant and rigid stand in the Nairobi talks and failed to show that it was (word indistinct) negotiator.

Sub-Saharan Africa

'Expert' Recommends ANC Suspend Armed Struggle

MB1801154290 Moscow in English to Southern Africa 1900 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Report on "continuation" of interview with Soviet "expert on Africa" (Vladimir Tikhomirov) by unidentified correspondent; date and place not given—questions read by announcer; recorded (Tikhomirov) remarks in Russian fading into English translation]

[Text] [Announcer] On today's program we bring the continuation of the talk with Soviet expert on Africa (Vladimir Tikhomirov). In the first part of the program we spoke about his article "Armed Struggle and the Prospects for Talks," which brought on a significant reaction in the South African press.

In the opinion of (Vladimir Tikhomirov), the African National Congress [ANC] could announce for a limited period of time, say a month, a moratorium on armed struggle. Not to reject the armed struggle in principle, but to announce the suspension of it for a limited time. This would demonstrate the ANC's preparedness to a peaceful way out of the racial conflict in South Africa and test the honesty of the government's aspirations for dialogue with the democratic forces.

So today, (Vladimir Tikhomirov) is again with us in the studio.

Vladimir, you would not deny that the question about armed struggle is a very sore point. Just recently the ANC announced its intention to strengthen armed opposition to the regime of apartheid. The decision of which you are speaking about would not be an easy one for the African National Congress.

[(Tikhomirov)] Well, it is quite possible that this is no simple step. It is also quite possible that such a step would be taken with difficulty, but if we look at the statements of the ANC leaders in recent times, we will see there are a number of points reviewed. There is the statement about the necessity to do everything possible to bring the talks closer. About a month ago in Nelson Mandela's message to the ANC leaders in Lusaka, he called on the ANC to do all it could to begin the talks. So, you see (?how) various points of view. Of course, to adopt a decision of such importance and the principle question for the ANC as the armed struggle could be difficult, but the way I see it in the present conditions, it would be to reject a very good chance for South Africa.

[Announcer] Is this your personal point of view? The South African newspaper THE STAR, for example, sees that for this to happen there would have to be a change in the Soviet Union's policy.

[(Tikhomirov)] As for armed struggle, this is my personal view and it should not be confused with some official statement of the Soviet Government, but in principle change has taken place in the Soviet Union's policy on South Africa in relation to regional conflicts. This is absolutely clear from the statements of the Soviet leaders, including General Secretary Gorbachev, and they have been repeated more than once.

What are the changes? First, the priority for overcoming all regional conflicts, without exceptions, including South Africa, to be given over to political means. Political means is the search for compromise and a balanced approach by all sides. Secondly, regional conflicts should not be seen as an arena for confrontation between the superpowers.

These two new principles in Soviet policy in relation to southern Africa and South Africa have without a doubt helped to improve the situation in the region. Ten years ago the confrontation between the superpowers was obvious. The West was seen as an ally to South Africa and the supporter of its policy in Africa. The South African Government gambled on this and drew definite advantages for itself.

On the other hand, we saw the ANC as the supporter of the concept of national liberation for Africa. The confrontation was obvious. We helped the ANC; the West helped the South African Government.

This has not been so in recent times. Differences do remain between the policies of the West and the Soviet Union on the question of sanctions in relation to South Africa and on the question of the methods of the internal policy of South Africa. But there are no major divergences of views. We do not see South Africa as our enemy. We are prepared to assist and join in political settlements.

At the same time, in recent years the West has come closer to the ANC. ANC leaders have been received by various high-level Western figures, and this is an important indication. Secondly, political settlement is a principle which is now receiving support in South Africa and in the region as a whole. Namibia is the most obvious example.

But I think the new policy of the Soviet Union is having its effect in South Africa, although it is interpreted in various ways. Among the more radical sections of the black population it is seen as betraying the interests of black South Africans. But this is a position that is close to the extremists. This is the psychology of confrontation talking: You can't talk to the government through political means; you can only talk to it with the language of guns.

To take the cue from extremism is not the best policy. I feel it is the present balance proposed by the Soviet Union to the problems of South Africa that is having its positive influence on the situation in the region.

One more important principle of the Soviet policy which must not be forgotten is that all problems in the region must be decided by representatives of the people who live there. We believe that no external forces, including the USSR and the United States, should take any decisions for the South Africans. Therefore, in the final count, what the ANC considers to be necessary is how it will act. We cannot decide for the ANC.

It is a different matter, continues (Vladimir Tikhomirov), that in the present conditions the recommendations can be found to be useful. I would like to emphasize once again that you should not think that my personal view on such a specific issue as armed struggle is a reflection of the Soviet Union's policy on the region as a whole.

[Announcer] One more question, Vladimir. Last year was extraordinarily rich in the unexpected for South Africa. What do you think awaits the country this year?

[(Tikhomirov)] As I see it, the results of events in South Africa in the last 6 months show there is a trend towards a political settlement. We can expect the release of Nelson Mandela say in 2 or 3 months. If this does not happen, then once again it will be a betrayal not only inside South Africa but also of the international community. It could have tragic consequences: again a mass upheaval, again repression by the government, all leading to a confrontation in which all policies of settling the conflict by political means could be changed.

I think this is understood by the South African Government. The freeing of Nelson Mandela as a basic move on the road to political settlement must take place. The internal events that follow this step could be very stormy, but in all probability the freeing of Nelson Mandela will be accompanied by the government's proposal for some type of talks in which Nelson Mandela could take part.

If Nelson Mandela is freed as a leader of the ANC and takes part in the talks, this means the government is recognizing the ANC. The question of who will take part in the talks is a complex one because the government and the ANC are not the whole of South Africa. I think that

during the year talks could begin around a political settlement in South Africa, based on the elimination of apartheid. If this happens, a number of steps could be taken on the part of the international community: the lifting of sanctions, and various countries acting as mediators, I think first of all, on the part of Great Britain and the United States, who have traditional ties with the South African Government.

I also think that Soviet diplomacy is not last on the list. A great deal depends now on the release of Nelson Mandela. If this does not happen, it could mean endless violence is awaiting the country. But there has never been a better chance of a political settlement than at the present stage.

East Europe

Alia Hits 'Malicious Campaign' Against Albania

PM1701152190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jan 90 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report: "TANJUG Report"]

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Jan—TANJUG has issued a report on a speech by R. Alia, first secretary of the Albanian Workers Party and chairman of the Albanian People's Assembly Presidium, at a meeting with workers at a Tirana tractor combine the other day. The report states: "R. Alia refuted world press reports about extraordinary events in Albania, stressing that a state of emergency has not been declared in any part of the country and that there have been no demonstrations, unrest, or killings."

Describing this as a "malicious campaign" by the Western press, radio, and television, R. Alia particularly accused the Yugoslav mass media of spreading reports of unrest in Albania and described the TANJUG report on the state of emergency in Albania as the "pinnacle of all these fabrications."

The Albanian leader noted that "Albania, despite the attempts to divert it from the right path, is resolutely moving down the road of progress and socialism."

Gerasimov Denial

PM1801132190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 4

[G. Charodeyev report under the rubric "From Our Correspondent at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center": "Who Will Settle in the Occupied Territories"]

[Excerpts] G.I. Gerasimov, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Administration, has spoken at a routine briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists. [passage omitted]

A correspondent for the Greek newspaper RIZOSPASTIS put this question:

"The Albanian ambassador in Rome recently accused Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union, and the United States of being behind the anti-Albanian campaign which is supposedly being developed in the world now. The ambassador also maintained that G. Bush and M.S. Gorbachev discussed the 'Albanian problem' during the summit meeting off the coast of Malta. How would you comment on these statements?"

"The USSR," G.I. Gerasimov declared, "is not involved in any anti-Albanian campaign. Does one exist at all? We continue to favor the development of relations with Albania. Leaf through Soviet newspapers and journals, and you will find articles inviting Albania to develop relations with our country. This question was not touched on at all at the Malta meeting—I say this as an immediate witness to the events of those days..."

Claims of Incipient Change in Albania Examined

PM1801122990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent Ye. Vostrukhov dispatch: "Are Changes Taking Place in Albania?"]

[Text] Belgrade—These days Belgrade's mass media are devoting heightened attention to Yugoslavia's relations with its neighbor Albania and the sociopolitical situation in that republic, which, as is well known, had no desire for a long time to broaden ties with the outside world. However, of late, observers note, the situation in this Balkan country also seems to be beginning to change...

Recently, for instance TANJUG sent the following report from the U.S. capital, citing *THE WASHINGTON TIMES:* "Albania is no longer impeding the free reception of VOA on its territory." The agency stressed that in the article, headlined "Albania Is Demonstrating the First Signs of Rapprochement," the newspaper admitted the possibility that Tirana is "gradually seeking open dialogue with the United States—for the first time since the end of World War II." What grounds are there for such a claim?

At the end of last year, TANJUG continues, two Americans of Albanian descent visited Tirana. They were received by Albanian President Ramiz Alia. They were Anthony Atanas, a policeman from Boston, who was the first American since the war to have an official meeting with the Albanian leader, and Arthur Liolin, an Albanian Orthodox priest in the United States, who met with R. Alia late last November. *THE WASHINGTON TIMES* claims that Atanas "had contacts" at the State Department in connection with his trip to Tirana, however, neither the Americans nor the Albanians confirmed his statement that the two countries exchanged notes on their readiness to cooperate. It is also reported that James Suikhart [surname as transliterated], director of the U.S. State Department East European Affairs Bureau, speaking during a VOA broadcast 28 November

last year, confirmed the possibility of a U.S. Government decision to resume diplomatic relations between the two countries.

In this connection Yugoslav newspapers recall that a sitting of representatives of the Balkan countries' committees for mutual understanding and cooperation came to a successful conclusion late last year in Tirana, which attests to the positive process of new thinking in the Balkans and, in particular, in Albania.

However, it is understandable that the interest shown by the foreign press in the internal situation in Albania is fueled above all by the avalanche of successive transformations in the countries of Eastern Europe. Will this process take over "reclusive" Albania—many observers are asking this question.

Belgrade's *NOVOSTI 8* journal writes in a report from Paris that "people in political and diplomatic circles in the French capital are not ruling out the possibility of Tirana soon repeating events in Berlin, Prague, or Sofia..." "All six French television channels," the correspondent continues, "recently carried reports on the 'last bastion of Stalinism in Europe.'" Representatives of Albanian emigres living in France published a newspaper appeal to the Western democratic public urging them to do something to oppose human rights violations in Albania.

TANJUG reported 11 January that FRG newspapers, pointing out the "nervousness of the Tirana regime," voiced suppositions that the changes in the East European countries would also have an impact on Albania. "The government of the last totalitarian state in the European East is beginning to feel the pressure of change," Munich's *SUDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG* believes, concluding that "it is now very hard for functionaries in Tirana to keep the country from all external influences." At the same time *DIE WELT* expressed the opinion that Yugoslav and Greek mass media reports of the "bloody suppression of incipient mass demonstrations by the Albanian population" were extremely exaggerated. It is most likely, the newspaper sums up, that "there were only a few isolated incidents which the authorities succeeded in quelling."

In short, there is no concrete confirmation in Belgrade as yet of "recent bloodshed in Albania and the introduction of a state of emergency there." Nevertheless several Yugoslav and foreign correspondents have come to the small town of Bozhay [name as transliterated] on the Yugoslav-Albanian border in expectation of "events in Albania." There is a border crossing here—road and rail—between the two countries. Journalists on "this side" have not as yet seen anything suspicious. When a freight train arrived at Bozhay Station from Albania, Yugoslav engine driver Danilo Damjanovic, *BORBA* writes, held a press conference.

He told correspondents the following: "Nothing special is happening in Albania as far as we were able to see. We drive trains from Montenegro to the city of Shkoder and back. Albanians are living and working as normal. At Beyza [name as transliterated] Station near Shkoder, we Yugoslav railroad workers had a 3-hour break. We wandered freely around the station and went into a cafe. Many Yugoslavs, incidentally, live in the settlement. Everyone says that they watch our and Italian television programs, but they saw recent events in Romania by live relay. The railroad workers with whom we are in contact are very correct, they prepare the trains rapidly and professionally. I myself was somewhat surprised to read a newspaper reports that a 'state of emergency' had been introduced in Albania..."

Tension Continues Over Bulgarian Turks

PM1701165690 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 5

[A. Kapralov article from "IZVESTIYA Correspondents Comment" column: "Hot Days in January"]

[Text] Sofia—For nearly 10 days the whole country has been in a fever. Rallies lasting many hours have taken place in Kurdzhali, Razgrad, Khaskovo, Smolyan, and Ardino; strikes, both symbolic—simply involving the announcement "I am on strike" at the workplace—and real, have stopped plants and transport and closed the doors of institutions and stores.

The disturbances were prompted by the 29 December 1989 decision of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee, the Council of Ministers, and the State Council on eradicating the distortions that have occurred with regard to the country's Turkish-speaking and Muslim population. People were protesting against this decision and against the method by which it was adopted. The situation has deteriorated mainly in the regions where Bulgarians live side by side with...—they have been called all kinds of things—"Bulgarian Muslims," "ethnic Turks," "descendants of Islamicized Bulgarians," and "the Turkish-speaking population." In everyday speech the Bulgarians call their fellow citizens simply—Turks.

The Zhivkov regime, operating on the principle "divide and rule," spent years erecting a wall of alienation between different ethnic groups. Beginning with the Gypsies, who were renamed in the early fifties and, in the late sixties, were forbidden even to sing, dance, or play the violin, the process of creating a "monolithic, unified Bulgarian nation" also affected the Turkish-speaking population, as well as Bulgarians who profess the Islamic faith.

"During the totalitarian regime," I was told by N. Gendzhev, chief mufti of the Muslim faith, "the rights of Muslims were flouted. And in 1984 they took away our names. An onslaught on religion began. Mosques were closed. In many places Muslim rites were banned. We were not allowed to mark the festivals—Bairam, Ramadan... The 29 December decision restored Muslims' constitutional rights. I say restored, because in the days of the Zhivkov clique these rights were recorded in

the constitution, but were not observed, or else were restricted. Now everyone can attend the mosques freely. We are glad that henceforth Muslims will be able to perform their rites freely."

A stereotype has taken root in the mass consciousness: The Turkish-speaking population is Turkey's fifth column, it poses a demographic threat to the existence of the Bulgarian nation. On top of this there was the demand for autonomy for the Turkish-speaking population, which they did not in fact ask for. Nationalism was kindled and Muslim extremism provoked.

The tension between the two sections of the Bulgarian people was particularly aggravated as a result of the mass campaign for Bulgarian Muslims to leave for Turkey in the summer of 1989. In official propaganda it was claimed that these people were going on an "excursion" or to visit relatives. There were more than 300,000 "trippers"! (And 100,000 of them have already returned to Bulgaria.)

The scientist K. Kirtikov, who was one of those who compiled secret and top secret studies for the former Politburo, appeared on Bulgarian Television recently. Certain documents, he reported, were drawn up in only four copies. The scientist asserted that the disturbances that began among the Turkish-speaking population in May 1989 were prompted by their deprivation of elementary human rights. But demonstrations of women and children were dispersed by means of water cannon and rubber bullets. The protesters' slogans were: "We want to live in Bulgaria," "We want dialogue with the Central Committee," "Long live Gorbachev, down with Zhivkov!" As K. Kirtikov said, Zhivkov did not forgive that last slogan. It was then that he called on the neighboring country to open the border. The local internal affairs organs were given quotas of people subject to eviction, to "excursion" trips. "We were living in a blind panic," a representative of the Turkish-speaking population said at the Social Council on the Nationalities Question held at the National Assembly. "People were sitting on their suitcases day and night, expecting someone to come for them at any moment."

The local organs of power, party committees, and militia unfailingly, and in some cases with an excess of zeal, fulfilled the instructions from above. No other attitude could be expected from cadres chosen on the principle of personal devotion and trained unswervingly to fulfill the instructions of the party dictator. Of course, there were people in the party ranks and in the leadership centrally and locally who were distressed by what was happening. They realized that T. Zhivkov and his entourage were pushing the country toward an abyss. But in those conditions, to raise your voice in protest was to pronounce sentence against yourself.

A certain group of people made a substantial profit out of the tragedy of their compatriots leaving for Turkey. Unscrupulous cab drivers took a fee of 1,500-2,000 levs for the journey of 200-300 km to the border.

It is hardly surprising that the first to come out against the 29 December decision were the Kurdzhali cab drivers. Thousands of people were drawn into the maelstrom of rallies and strikes, a large proportion of them undoubtedly true Bulgarian patriots who were simply swept away by mass hysteria. There are facts, evidence, indicating that in a number of places the kindling of nationalist passions was provoked or in some places actually organized by the local authorities, who saw the democratic changes that had begun in the country as a danger to their own prosperity. As the instruments of unlawful decisions, they tried, under cover of slogans about the nation's territorial integrity and unity, to lift their own actions on the crest of a wave of chauvinism.

The country's democratic forces unerringly saw through the nomenklatura's camouflage and pointed out its involvement in the events of the first days of January at the Social Council which was held, as already stated, at the National Assembly. Representatives of 65 movements, organizations, and clubs, the BCP, and the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union worked here as a kind of parliamentary chamber, listening to all viewpoints. Disputes flared up, and it looked as though those present would never reach a consensus. All the same, reason and a sense of responsibility for the future of the country and the entire Bulgarian nation triumphed. A declaration was adopted on the nationalities question. It condemns, in particular, the criminal methods by which the names of some Bulgarian citizens were changed, and reaffirms everyone's right freely to choose his own name. The existence of political or social organizations whose activity is directed against the country's territorial integrity is banned in the country. Encroachments on citizens' dignity and incitement of ethnic enmity and hatred are strictly punishable by law.

This declaration will be examined at the National Assembly session that began on 15 January. But it can already be said that a great step forward has been taken toward the attainment of national consensus on a question on which the country's future depends. What has happened, S. Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly, said, is without precedent in socialist Bulgaria.

A solution has apparently been found to an impossible situation. If even a single drop of blood had been spilled, events could have taken a tragic turn. According to reports from the localities, the strikes have ended and rally passions have died down. And that is the result of the political dialogue in the National Assembly. A considerable role in its success was played by the Union of Democratic Forces, which immediately came out actively in support of the 29 December 1989 decision.

A rally of 100,000 people was held in Sofia on Sunday on its initiative. Many of the participants had a home-made badge on their chests—a handshake, and the inscription "Reconciliation." At the same time the rally demonstrated intolerance and the desire to use ultimatums to

resolve other urgnet questions. Not for nothing was the most frequently chanted slogan: "Down with the BCP!"

With this rally the Union of Democratic Forces in effect began a keen political struggle, a struggle for power, RABOTNICHESKO DELO writes. But this struggle must be waged by civilized means, the newspaper adds.

CSSR Premier Calfa Leaves CPCZ 18 Jan

LD1801172790 Moscow TASS in English 1645 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Text] Prague January 18 TASS—Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa quit the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, CTK reported.

Prison Amnesty Leads to Crime Wave in CSSR

90UI0287A Moscow TRUD in Russian 12 Jan 90 p 3

[Article by N. Shevtsov: "After the Amnesty"]

[Text] Crime was sharply on the increase in Czechoslovakia last week.

On 9 January CSSR Minister of Internal Affairs R. Saker appeared on central television and informed the viewers that there were reports of 217 crimes committed by the criminals released under the amnesty. Altogether they had released to date over 20,000 people out of 31,000 in prison. It is a considerable number for Czechoslovakia, a country of 15 million people.

Some of my acquaintances in Prague are afraid to go out at night. Maybe their fears are exaggerated, but they are easy to understand. The amnesty decree, I would like to remind you here, covered everyone sentenced to a short prison term. Prisoners sentenced to longer terms had their prison terms cut by about one-third.

The present situation causes certain concern for the Czechoslovak leadership. CSSR President V. Havel asked the minister for internal affairs to take serious measures to protect the public from the outrageous behavior of the criminals who could not appreciate the government's humane treatment of them.

The amnesty caused another serious problem—an acute shortage of workers. It is felt mostly at factories that previously used prisoners' labor. For instance, the automobile factory in Mlada Boleslav producing Skoda and Favorit cars lost 1500 workers at once. In other words, the production force was diminished by one-third. The press and paint shops became completely empty, the assembly shop lost some of the workers. As a result, production fell by about 30%.

What is the solution to this situation? Many former prisoners are asked to remain at the factory for rather high pay: from 5,000 to 7,000 koruny. They are looking for new workers all over the country. Those who live in Prague will travel the 50 km from the subway stations to Mlada Boleslav in special buses.

At the same time, the automobile concern's administration appealed for help to the military high command and they treated the plea with understanding. CSSR Minister of Defense M. Vacek issued a special order to send 500 military personnel to the factory and another 850 soldiers should be employed as directed by the Ministry of Industry.

Antifascist Rally Held in East Berlin

90UI0269A Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 4 Jan 90 p 3

[SELSKAYA ZHIZN correspondent report: "GDR: Antifascist Demonstration"]

[Text] Berlin, 3 January—"Wearing a party badge has become dangerous. Instances of communists and antifascists having been beaten up on public transport have become known. The symptoms are the same as in the years of Nazism," Kurt Ewermann says sadly. He has a right to strong opinions—a man in whose difficult life there have been such landmarks as Hitler's "Eastern Front," Soviet captivity, antifascist school, propaganda work for he Soviet Army and active participation in building socialism in the GDR.

However, is not my acquaintance, who has for 45 of his 75 years been confessing the ideals of antifascism, laying it on a bit thick? But here we have an official account of a recent news conference at the GDR Internal Affairs Ministry. "The present situation in the GDR," we read, "is creating the prerequisites and conditions propitious for neo-Nazi groups to perfect their structures and replenish their ranks." The list merely of those who are already known to the criminal police in connection with crimes motivated by right-wing radicalism runs to more than 1,000.

The opening of the border with the FRG and West Berlin has undoubtedly made it easier for the neo-fascist parties and organizations operating there and also in the United States to penetrate the GDR. Even before September 1989, it was observed at the same news conference, attacks on dark-skinned citizens, Vietnamese working in the GDR and also servicemen and citizens wearing the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] badge had become a reality. The violence was accompanied by the slogans "Foreigners Out!" and "Communists to the Wall!" Various statements about sympathy with the Republicans (the party of neo- fascist persuasion in the FRG—editor's note) are currently being heard. Sometimes in one, sometimes in another locality of the GDR Nazi graffiti are appearing on the walls of buildings. And the apogee was the desecration during last week alone of cemeteries in Berlin, in Treptower Park, and in the city of Gera where Soviet soldiers who fell in the fighting with the fascists lie. One could not see without shuddering the inscription "Occupiers, Clear Off!" with which a criminal hand had defaced the base of the world-famous monument to the Soviet soldier who is carrying a rescued German child in his arms.

So is the indignation of Kurt Ewermann and numerous other like-minded persons that groundless? A thousands-strong demonstration against the multiplying neo-fascist actions in the republic was held today at the memorial complex in Treptow Park at the appeal of the SED-German Socialist Party, the Antifascist Resistance Committee and the German-Soviet Friendship Society. The appeal of the organizers says: "Enough! The line has been crossed! We need a united front against forces of the right!"

GDR Anti-STASI Protest Gets Out of Control

Modrow Acts To Quell Protest

90UI0293A Moscow TRUD in Russian
17 Jan 90 p 3

[TASS report: "A Search for Mutual Understanding"]

[Text] Berlin, 16 Jan (TASS)—Roundtable discussion participants have met for the seventh time. They include representatives of 16 extremely influential parties, political groupings, and social organizations of the GDR. H. Modrow, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, has taken part. In his speech Modrow pointed out the exceptional importance of the work of the roundtable, and called upon its participants in the name of the government not to sow dissension, but rather seek mutual understanding.

The democratization of social life which we have begun together, our striving to stabilize the economic situation and effect important reforms demand the coordinated activity of all parties, of our entire society, the prime minister noted. I would identify three aspects in which we simply do not have a right to disagree. First, we must do everything to ensure that the renewal of society continues in a peaceful manner. Second, it is our common duty to ensure the uninterrupted operation of all branches of the national economy and not permit a decline in the standard of living. Third, I call upon all of you to use your political prestige in convincing GDR citizens not to leave their country, to remain in their motherland. Using internal resources as well as outside assistance—primarily expanded cooperation with the USSR and other CEMA countries—our country has a real chance of significantly improving its economic situation as early as this year.

Other members of the government also participated in the roundtable discussion. GDR Internal Affairs Minister L. Arendt informed the group of measures being taken in the country to maintain public order, and of the course of investigation of incidents of corruption, abuse of authority, and personal enrichment. He noted that the opening of state borders had created favorable conditions for the subversive activity of Western secret services—and these are in fact employing the most modern technology in conducting their espionage activities. The minister also certified the increased activity of neo-fascist forces, which are shifting to organized operations and presenting a serious threat to democracy.

An extremely sensitive question is the matter concerning dissolution of the Department of National Security. Detailed information on this subject was provided by M. Zauer, deputy chief of the Secretariat of the Council of Ministers. The debate was urgently cut short, however, when news arrived regarding a demonstration by crowds at the former State Security Ministry building. The roundtable participants went there in order to ward off violence.

This action was undertaken at the appeal of the opposition movement "New Forum." Preliminary figures indicate that about 100,000 individuals had gathered on the street. Despite appeals by representatives of a number of opposition organizations to refrain from excessive emotion, the crowd burst into the building, destroyed furniture and threw it from the windows. H. Modrow arrived at the scene and called upon those who had gathered to use good judgment and avoid violence which could lead to unforeseen consequences and only harm the process of renewal.

Protest Rally Viewed

PM1701160790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
17 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 5

[Dispatch by own correspondent V. Lapskiy: "Republic's Fate Is Being Decided"]

[Text] Berlin—The unforeseen has occurred. The tens of thousands of people gathered in Berlin for a demonstration stormed the chief building of the former ministry of state security. The peaceful demonstration called by the "New Forum" (it began under the slogan "Against the STASI and the NASI"—the abbreviations signifying the ministry of state security and the national security department created after its dissolution) got out of control.

Under the crowd's onslaught the police guarding the building opened the steel gates and the demonstrators charged into the courtyard and then into the building of the former ministry of state security, destroying everything in their way. There was the sound of broken glass and official papers flew out of the windows. The rioters sought lists of secret agents and their reports.

For a long time calls to end the riot went unheeded. The rampaging crowd was uncontrollable. Only after an hour did the people who had broken into the former Ministry of State Security premises begin to leave it, taking with them books, diskettes, documents, and even telephones and noisily insulting those who tried to admonish them. Inscriptions made by the inflamed demonstrators threatening former ministry of state security staffers appeared on the building's walls.

The demonstration which developed into a riot began at 1700. It was precisely then that the "roundtable" addressed by Hans Modrow was sitting in Berlin. The sitting was broken off. The chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and several representatives of new

parties and movements drove to the scene of the incident. In front of the former ministry building on Normannen Strasse Hans Modrow addressed the gathering. The democratic movement which began in November should not be accompanied by violence, he said. No one has the right to thwart the process of democratic changes. Those who are taking part in the destruction of the premises here should know that they are harming themselves.

On the same evening the government made an address to the GDR citizens. It contains the following words: "Democracy, which is beginning to develop only today, is in the gravest danger. In these grave hours the GDR Government urges all citizens to preserve their calm and common sense and to display civic awareness."

There have probably been no such dramatic and dangerous days as 15 January since the start of the revolutionary process in the GDR last fall. The entire country is in motion. In Leipzig the now traditional demonstration proceeded stormily and appeals against the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism [SED-PDS] and for the union of Germany prevailed at it. Young neo-Nazis who had come from the FRG took an active part in it, as they did a week ago. They were shown on television chanting nationalist slogans and openly distributing neofascist posters and leaflets of the republican party. You form the impression that they are acting increasingly vigorously and shamelessly at the Leipzig demonstrations.

Powerful demonstrations also swept through other cities of the republic and in both Dresden and Karl-Marx-Stadt 150,000 people gathered for demonstrations. Various, sometimes directly contradictory, slogans were advanced and there was a marked demand to halt the development of both right-wing and left-wing radicalism. The speakers at the meetings called for everything possible to be done to prevent in any form the restoration of Stalinism.

Warning strikes (which, according to the assurances of those taking part, will not affect production) have been declared in three large cities of the republic—Gera, Jena, and Zwickau. The workers at various enterprises demanded the defense of the democratic process and supported the call to dissolve the national security department and to create no other organs to replace it before the 6 May elections. One more demand was made—that a referendum be held on the GDR's further destiny.

The political struggle has reached an unprecedented pitch. A shameless campaign is being conducted to discredit the SED-PDS—the party which still numbers 1.4 million members. The slogan which appeared at the Leipzig demonstration attracted attention: "He who votes at the elections for the SED-PDS will be voting for civil war." No more, nor less.

According to an announcement from the GDR general prosecutor, investigations are under way on the charges against Honecker and Mielke, the chief of the former state security service of state treason and an anticonstitutional deal: Since 1985 they had introduced total surveillance in the GDR.

Without fear of exaggeration I shall say that the destiny of the GDR is being decided now.

GDR Ponders 'Hard Road' to Economic Recovery

PM1801120790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jan 90 Second Edition p 6

[Own correspondent M. Podklyuchnikov dispatch: "Difficult Path of Stabilization. GDR People's Chamber on Economic Problems"]

[Text] Berlin—Economic planners have an expression: "auditing the accounts." It means comparing income and expenditure and forming a clear idea of the movement of money. The GDR People's Chamber session that ended a few days could be likened to such an "audit."

The country's top organ of state power examined a wide range of questions. The situation in the GDR is complex now, and a great deal requires analysis, discussion, and decisions. But, whatever is discussed, in the final analysis everything hinges on the economy. If the national economy functions in a stable and efficient manner, the country will acquire the funds to resolve many urgent problems. It is natural that problems of the economy occupied a prominent place in the statement by the coalition government delivered by its head, H. Modrow, in the deputies' speeches and questions and in the replies given by ministers.

In the government statement there was no need to paint a detailed picture of the state of the national economy. On the day the People's Chamber session opened, the newspaper NEUES DEUTSCHLAND published a big feature on this subject packed with statistical data which the GDR leadership had previously kept most strictly secret. They show how the country's economy was sliding toward a state of crisis in recent years.

Economic statistics reveal their profound meaning if you see behind the figures the results of labor, the successes and failures, the joys and sorrows of millions of people.

I will not tire the reader with too many figures, but I will cite the main ones. From 1981 through 1985 national income in the GDR was increasing by 4.3% annually. But from 1986 through 1989 the rate was only 3.4%. Labor productivity in the GDR is now 40% lower than in the FRG.

What has occasioned this drop in economic efficiency? Inadequate production and capital investment return is identified as the primary cause. The necessary correlation between accumulation and consumption was violated. Equipment was growing obsolete. Annual spending on repairs was close to the cost of replacement. Capital investments were being made predominantly in

enterprises producing end products. Subcontractors were lagging further and further behind, disrupting the rhythm of deliveries. The "holes" appearing in the economy were being patched by increasing imports from hard-currency countries. Malfunctions were continuing to increase in all production components. Disruptions in the underlying economic processes came to the surface, unbalancing the domestic market and causing inflation.

It was pointed out at the People's Chamber session that the difficult legacy inherited by the present coalition government has been overlaid by additional difficulties occasioned by the drift of manpower to the FRG. Some 250,000 jobs in the country are now vacant. The result is a further drop in the national income growth rate. It stood at just 2% for the whole of 1989. The state budget had a shortfall of more than 5 billion marks.

During October-December 1989 there was an absolute drop in production compared with the same period of 1988. During those months the output being produced during the workday was worth M40 million less than in the preceding quarters. And two-thirds of this was the result of the drift of manpower to the West.

The road to national economic stabilization is a hard one. The first steps which the coalition government is taking along it are also complicated by the fact that the opposition parties and groups represented at the "round table" are making inordinate demands on it and holding up the adoption of necessary decisions. They advance the thesis that the government is supposedly unlawful. At the People's Chamber session H. Modrow reasonably retorted that it did not accede to power as the result of a coup d'etat but was elected by the top representative body of the people.

A number of steps are already being taken to implement the urgent economic reform. This year industry is not being set the task of increasing the production volume at all costs. Chief attention is being switched to the elaboration of a new economic mechanism. Following consultations with the general directors of combines, the government is taking measures to enhance the responsibility of combines and individual enterprises and to make wider use of economic levers. An economic committee of the Council of Ministers is being set up to replace the former State Planning Commission. It is to formulate the strategic line for national economic development, ensure the responsibility and independence of enterprises, coordinate economic activity, and promote the democratization of the whole system of planning and management.

The republic is not alone in the difficult work of stabilizing the national economy. The GDR attaches special significance to cooperation within the CEMA framework, with the Soviet Union. The government statement emphasizes that priority is given to cooperation with the USSR—the country's most important ally and trading partner. At the same time the GDR intends to become more actively involved in the international division of labor.

The country's national economic "accounts" have been "audited." The economic stabilization program is beginning to acquire its first features. It was pointed out at the People's Chamber session that the government needs the trust and support of all citizens to implement it successfully.

More on Hungarian Envoy Meeting Lukyanov

PM1901095790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Credentials Presented by Hungarian Republic's Ambassador"]

[Text] In the Kremlin 17 January Sandor Gyorke, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Hungarian Republic, presented his credentials to A.I. Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet and candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo.

Over the past decades, the ambassador said, Hungarian-Soviet relations have attained a significant level, yielded considerable results, and created lasting values. We will continue to strive for their preservation, augmentation, and development. The historic changes occurring in our countries are creating favorable opportunities for further developing relations of cooperation between the Hungarian Republic and the Soviet Union and deepening their interaction in the international arena.

Accepting the credentials on behalf of the Presidium and the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, A.I. Lukyanov emphasized that the perestroyka under way in the Soviet Union is inseparably linked with the new political thinking in the international sphere founded on a realistic and objective view of the modern world. The Soviet Union proceeds from the premise that every people has the right to decide its own destiny independently, including determining the system and the paths and rate of its development. This applies in full to our relations with Hungary too. Their value for the Soviet Union is determined by the coincidence of the basic interests of the two countries' peoples, by the desire for good-neighborliness and mutually advantageous cooperation, and by common approaches to resolving key international questions. While preserving all the positive experience accumulated over many years, we advocate the renewal of cooperation between the USSR and Hungary in accordance with today's realities. Life itself insistently demands the improvement of its mechanism in various spheres.

It was pointed out that the Soviet Union will continue to pursue a policy of strengthening security and cooperation throughout the world—a policy which is in accordance with the interests of its allies and the world community.

After the presentation of credentials, warm and friendly talks took place between A.I. Lukyanov and S. Gyorke,

in which V.G. Komplektov, USSR deputy foreign minister, and E.L. Kuzmin, head of the International Relations Department of the USSR Supreme Soviet Secretariat, participated.

Estonian People's Front Delegation Visits Hungary

LD1701115890 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1800 GMT 16 Jan 90

[Excerpts] Budapest—The visit by an Estonian People's Front delegation to Hungary continues. Yesterday there was a meeting with Imre Pozsgay, an influential politician of that country. [words indistinct] in common with regard to changes in Europe and in the Baltic republics. The Hungarian side supports our efforts in respect [words indistinct] and in the economy.

[words indistinct] to encourage the establishment of a center for ethnic Fenno-Ugric culture and to restore the tradition of cultural congresses of the Fenno-Ugric people. The last of its kind took place in Tallinn in 1936.

It was agreed during the talks to set up a Hungarian-Estonian joint commission [passage indistinct] Also under discussion was the opening of a Budapest-Tallinn air link. [passage omitted]

Today the representatives of the People's Front held talks with the leaders of the opposition movements in Hungary: the Hungarian Democratic Forum and the Party of Free Democrats.

Tomorrow [17 January] the Estonian People's Front delegation will travel on to Prague from Budapest.

Holds Consultations

LD1601225390 Budapest MTI in English 2224 GMT 16 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 16 (MTI)—Senior representatives of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF) and the Estonian Peoples Front (EPF) held talks in Budapest on Tuesday.

The sides expressed their endeavour for improving coordination between the parties and popular movements of Central europe and the Baltic countries.

The negotiating parties considered it expedient for the democracy-oriented members of the East European parliaments to discuss the issues of cooperation and security in Europe yet before the Helsinki-II conference. They shared the view that the military and geopolitical problems of the East European and Baltic countries could be settled on the basis of the 1975 Helsinki Final Act, and the documents of the CSCE conference.

The Estonian side expressed agreement with the withdrawal of all Soviet military units from Hungary.

The Hungarian side held it necessary to restore the status of the Baltic countries in a legally correct way, supported the Estonian endeavours for establishing a nuclear-free Nordic zone, and took note of Estonia's long-term goal to attain its full demilitarization.

The negotiating parties discussed the concept of a demilitarized European zone, the development of economic integration in Eastern and Central europe, and the establishment of a bilateral economic and commercial joint committee.

The HDF and ESP agreed to hold consultations twice a year in the future.

Walesa Receives Invitation To Visit USSR

LD1801172190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1635 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, 18 Jan (TASS)—A meeting took place today in Gdansk between Lech Walesa and V.I. Brovikov, the USSR ambassador in Poland, who handed an invitation to visit the Soviet Union to the Solidarity chairman.

The problems of Soviet-Polish cooperation and prospects for their development were discussed during the conversation. The sides noted the necessity of organizing interrelations on the principles of partnership. The hope was expressed that progress in the reforms which are occurring in both countries will allow difficulties of a historical nature to be overcome.

After the meeting, the Solidarity chairman declared to journalists that, in his opinion, the trip should take place without delays, but also without haste. I want the visit to be of benefit to both countries, he said.

Walesa Cited on Polish, Soviet Way Forward

PM1701162790 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 1, 7 Jan 90 p 13

[Len Karpinskiy interview with Polish Solidarity leader Lech Walesa "while in Moscow to attend the funeral of Andrey Sakharov": "Beware of Sharp Turns"]

[Text] While in Moscow to attend the funeral of Andrey Sakharov, Polish Solidarity leader Lech Walesa spoke to MN political analyst Len Karpinsky about what, in his view, awaits the Soviet Union in 1990.

Walesa: You are in for difficult times, just as we are. We will have to exert every effort to cope with our critical situation.

MN [MOSCOW NEWS]: What do you mean by critical situation? The bankruptcy of totalitarian "socialism" or an actual economic crisis, i.e., empty shops, inflation, loss of economic ties?

Walesa: Acturally, these things correlate with each other as cause and effect. We in Poland are in an economic crisis, whereas you are only approaching it. And you will come to it, if you remain stuck in the old command system. Our countries have no other way out than radical social reform. It's very important to move towards every

kind of freedom at the same time—towards economic, political and social freedom. We need a comprehensive approach. We should not sail "where the wind blows". Freedom is not anarchy but a conscientious and purposeful search for the best solutions. The problem is which way to turn and when.

MN: The December Congress of USSR People's Deputies voted for the government's proposed programme of gradual economic change which, while developing elements of the market economy and various forms of property, preserves the old administrative structures and methods. But the radicals, who represent a fairly substanital segment of the population, uarged for more drastic measures, arguing that a market economy is incompatible with the bureaucratic system.

Walesa: I'm not a fortune-teller and think that no one—be it Solidarity or Gorbachev—can determine which way to go. I will only say: beware of sharp turns. You won't be able to escape them and shouldn't even try to. Your country is not a small wagon, but a huge train. If you forget about the brakes, including administrative and political, you'll over-turn and smash everything. As for the radicals, let them speak their mind and suggest their solutions. Practice will decide whose are the best.

MN: Where, in your view, will we wind up provided we keep our balance on the turns?

Walesa: It's impossible to build capitalism out of our "socialism," and I doubt whether we should be trying to do this at all. The only thing that will help is if we renounce the stereotype based on an abstract antagonism between socialism and capitalism. We must look for unorthodox solutions oriented towards higher living standards for the working people. It's very important that we should no longer view socialization, a basic socialist notion, as the alienation of property and power from individuals. Actually, it's the other way round: socialization of property and power should extend to every single person, so that each individual can be involved in owning the means of production and handling social processes.

Old patterns are no good in this respect. The working man must become a master at last. Most of the property should be controlled by self-governing bodies, by work collectives and cooperative associations. Equal opportunities should be enjoyed by all forms of ownership, including private, which means that a certain party of society owns a certain part of the means of production and uses it efficiently for the country's and its own benefit. it stands to reason that in some industries state ownership should be preserved.

The main thing is to allow people to work creatively and to produce not only material things, but also new forms of social relations. Both our countries have a multitude of intelligent, talented and honest people. Having acquired their freedom, they will undoubtedly find the right solutions and make their historic choice. Cooperation and traditional friendship between our countries will obviously be further enriched next year and replenished with new searches and solutions.

Moscow Party Delegation Arrives in Warsaw

LD1701093190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1658 GMT 16 Jan 90

[Excerpts] Warsaw, 16 Jan (TASS)—A delegation from Moscow, headed by Yu.A. Prokofiyev, first secretary of the Moscow City CPSU Committee, arrived here at the invitation of the Warsaw Committee of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] and the National Council of Warsaw.

The delegation was met at the airport by J. Kubasiewicz, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Warsaw Committee of the PZPR, and other officials.

On the first day of the stay in Warsaw, the Moscow delegation, which also includes Yu.A. Shilobreyev, deputy chairman of the Moscow City Soviet, and A.M. Belinskiy, a worker at the Moscow mechanical repair works and a participant in the battles for the liberation of the Polish capital, had meetings with the leadership and aktiv of the Warsaw Committee of the PZPR.

In his speech, Yu.A Prokofiyev emphasized the significance of the traditional ties between the capitals of the two countries. He informed the party aktiv of the partner city in detail of the sociopolitical and socioeconomic situation in the Soviet Union. Perestroyka and the departure from dogmatism were dictated by life itself, he said, having acquainted the Polish comrades with the course of the political and economic transformations. Tasks of guaranteeing the population's social protection during the fundamental reforms of production and consumption lie at their basis. The first secretary of the Moscow City Party Committee drew attention to the democratization of the party, to the restructuring of the work of the organization of communists of the Soviet capital and to the specific features of society's political life. [passage omitted]

Members of the Moscow delegation visited the old Warsaw city, which has been reborn by the efforts of the entire Polish people from the ruins into which ancient Warsaw was turned by the Hitlerite aggressors, and got to know the sights of the city.

Poles Show 'Intolerance' by Closing Lenin Museums

PM1801131390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent L. Toporkov dispatch: "Whom Are They Copying?"]

[Text] Warsaw—As was to be expected, the wave of the anti-Soviet campaigning which is making itself felt in Poland has reached Poronin, a small city near Zakopane, which once served as a refuge for Lenin. In 1912-1913 the leader of the Russian revolutionaries lived in the

Krakow region, then Galicia, and wrote more than 300 works there. The V.I. Lenin museum opened shortly after the war was one of the most visited museums in the south of Poland.

A new broom sweeps clean, as the saying goes. Everything connected with people's power is currently being eliminated in Poland, and the symbols of Soviet-Polish ties which until recently were described as fraternal are also being removed. The main symbol is, of course, Lenin. The events in Nowa Huta, where mobs of hooligans defiled his monument and the local authorities availed themselves of the anti-Soviet elements' escapade to dismantle the monument altogether, are still fresh in our memory. In Krakow itself the V.I. Lenin Museum has been closed. Now, according to a PAP report, the public of Poronin, represented by the local civic committee, has submitted a petition for their museum to be closed too. They even found a pretext: It is being claimed that the museum houses no genuine exhibits connected with Lenin. The building could be used to house a rural culture center and a kindergarten.

The prewar style of information about the "eastern neighbor" is being revived—markedly peremptory and hostile. Recently I happened to read an article in POLITYKA from which I learned that Pilsudski's private secretary K. Illakowiczowna had written a poem with Lenin as its hero, or rather antihero.

It is difficult to say which predominates in the poem—a primitive attitude or hatred. In a well-known Warsaw cabaret, an equally well-known comedian is doing his act about—to use his words—"old baldy." And a seaside resort is staging a play in which Lenin appears in an equally ridiculous light... People here sometimes try to explain the hostile attacks as "ebullient political folklore" sprouting in the soil of transformations. Reflecting on this "folklore" one feels like exclaiming:

"Gentlemen! Come to your senses! There are certain norms of decency to be observed! After all, it is you who keep stressing that you are Europeans, you who more than anyone else keep on about the Poles' great and fruitful humanist traditions, their tolerance toward others, and their care and respect for monuments, works of architecture, and other cultural and historical assets. And what is happening in practice? In Finland, for instance, no one would dream of defiling monuments to Lenin, who also lived there, while you, aspiring to the finlandization of your country, display amazing intolerance and demonstratively express your antipathies toward Soviet people."

Fortunately, it is only a small section of Poles who defile monuments and shout "Soviets go home!" The majority remember well and know what culture is, including political culture.

As we know, at the outbreak of World War I the Austrian gendarmes who held sway in Galicia at that time expelled V.I. Lenin from the country as persona non grata. His current persecutors are doing the same thing. Is it not strange that they have decided to copy precisely that example?

Polish Miners' Wage Demands, Price Hikes Viewed

PM1801142390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Jan 90 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report under the "Topic of the Day" rubric: "Strikes in Poland"]

[Text] Warsaw, 17 Jan—The strikes and protest actions that began on Tuesday at a number of mines in the main coalfields reflected the growing social tension in Poland owing to a reduction in real income and unprecedented price hikes as a result of the government's "strict economy" program.

Some miners at the "Czerwone Zaglebie" and "Kazimierz Juliusz" Mines in Katowice Voivodship did not turn up for work. On the same day three mines in Lower Silesia stopped coal extraction. The strikers' protests are founded on their demands for the labor remuneration system, whose imperfection is currently causing a reduction in living standards, to be regulated and economic reforms to be accelerated with consideration for working people's interests.

A drastic wage cut is the reason for our protest, a statement from the "Solidarity" trade union plant commission at "Czerwone Zaglebie" Mine says, for instance. We have alerted the authorities to this problem on several occasions, but all that came of it was promises. We support the reforms espoused by the Mazowiecki government, but not at the price of the health of miners and their families, the statement points out.

J. Kuron, minister of labor and social policy, said on television that the government is not deviating from its economic program and stressed that the strikes over wages are solely a problem for the worker's collective and the management concerned. At the same time he acknowledged that the government did not expect such a rise in market prices, particularly for food products.

But at the same time the Ministry of Finance announced further, extremely sharp rises in state retail prices for 80 types of medicines produced mainly from imported raw materials. This is another grave blow to pensioners and millions of impoverished families in the wake of the doubling of fares for travel on municipal transport. The latest—80-percent—price hike on Polish spirits and vodkas will not reduce social tension either.

Ceaucescu's Son Nicu, Others Stand Trial

90UI0281A Moscow TRUD in Russian 11 Jan 90 p 3

[Report by TRUD special correspondent A. Komrakov: "Before the Court—Ceaucescu the Younger"]

[Text] This pertains to Nicu, one of the former dictator's sons, whose court process started a few days ago. At the same time, the first group of so-called terrorists, who cooperated with the security service "Securitate" and used arms against their own people, appeared before a military tribunal. No accurate figure for the number of arrested securitate workers is available, but it was announced that special courts to conduct trials for their crimes are being organized in all regions of Romania. The special courts will consist of three representatives of the local military command and two civilian judges. A decree was published which legally confirmed the announcement by Ion Iliescu, chairman of the National Salvation Front Council of Romania, on the abolition of the death sentence in the country. A death sentence not yet carried out will now be carried out in the form of lifetime imprisonment.

As National Salvation Front Council member Silviu Brucan declared in an interview with AFP, the number of victims who perished in clashes with followers of Ceaucescu does not exceed 10,000. Earlier figures of up to 75,000 were reported.

A new passport law is in effect in Romania since Monday. From now on every citizen can receive a passport valid for foreign travel in 20 days.

Following a 5-year interruption, Hungarian can be heard again on Romanian television. The 3-hour program was broadcast over the entire country. The Hungarian national minority is the largest in Romania.

As announced, about 10 political parties already function in Romania. One of them—the Romanian Liberal Party, founded in 1848—took the restoration of monarchy as its task and recently invited former Romanian King Mihai, now living in Switzerland, to return to the throne.

A National Salvation Front Council decree declared 12 January 1990 as a day of national mourning.

The National Salvation Front Council also issued a number of new decrees aimed at normalizing the social-economic life of Romania and liquidating the legacy of the dictatorship of the Ceaucescu clan.

Romanian Economic Changes, Prospects Viewed

PM1801092390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Special correspondent M. Krushinskiy report: "Romania's Economy: Today and Tomorrow"]

[Text] Bucharest—The first weeks after the overthrow of the dictatorship are not providing a sufficiently clear answer as to which way the Romanian economy is going. Maybe the people simply have still not gotten round to it. Much more vital uncertainties have still not come off the agenda: What forces led the armed struggle against the people in December? Where are their remnants hiding now, and is there still a danger of renewed attempts to restore the fallen anti-people regime? In the context of concerns of this kind the problem of choosing a model of management does not seem too urgent.

The transformations made up to this point in the economic sphere are meeting the most acute and urgent needs. For example, the system of rationing foodstuffs has been abolished, and food exports, including exports to the USSR, have been temporarily stopped. Goods which people had not seen for years have appeared on sale. The shelves of footwear and other stores trading in industrial goods made in the country have also become much more attractive. Thanks to the abandonment of the all-out austerity policy, city streets are lit normally after dark. However, as before there is not enough meat or dairy products, and there are long lines for them. Bucharest apartments are cold. Admittedly this is compounded by the severe frosts—unusual for Romania—which replaced the recent thaw.

Essentially, most of the new government's economic decrees are primarily tactical—to eliminate the most odious manifestations of the Ceausescu regime's economic policy. The decision to transfer some energy resources from industrial production to the social sphere, and also a certain liberalization of land ownership relations allowing individuals to work plots of land up to 5,000 square meters in area and to sell the produce obtained at free prices, are designed to have a rapid effect.

Representatives of the central leadership have still not progressed far in discussing such fundamental economic problems as forms of ownership, the money supply, the plan, and the market. Their readiness for cardinal changes is expressed only in their acknowledgement of the "horrifying" state of the economy inherited from the previous regime. This is precisely how Mihail Montanu, chairman of the National Salvation Front Council organizational commission, defined the situation in a conversation with IZVESTIYA correspondents.

"Economic planning in recent years was implemented on an anti-people, unscientific, undemocratic basis," he said. "The news of alleged bumper harvests in Romania which was spread throughout the world was a massive lie. Our task today is to identify the Romanian economy's real potential and on this basis work out paths for its development which will best meet the population's needs... "

What are these paths, at least in general outline? What type of economic mechanism seems most attractive to the country's leaders: one based on plan directives, or on market regulation? In spite of our persistent questions, our interlocutor did not think it possible to go into such details. He noted only that the situation in Romania is quite unique, so that the ready-made Chinese, Hungarian, Yugoslav, or any other model would hardly suit it. And he added that, in his opinion, if necessary it is

easy to switch the centralized program of economic development to market lines if it is based on real and not falsified statistics.

M. Montanu is not an economist by profession but a power engineer, and the range of his present concerns goes beyond the scope of primarily economic problems. But the leader directly responsible for economic development—Lieutenant General A.V. Stanculescu, minister of the national economy—prefers not to look too far into the future. In an interview with the newspaper ROMANIA LIBERA he basically limits his thoughts to the first quarter of this year, stressing the significance of this period in raising the people's living standards. The minister believes that the acute shortage of energy sources—particularly gas—is the main obstacle. And he expresses the hope of expanding appropriate deliveries from CEMA countries. (At present, as noted in an interview with E.A. Shevardnadze, Romania gets 22 million cubic meters of gas daily from the USSR).

The intention expressed by A.V. Stanculescu to create a more flexible system of mandatory plan indicators for enterprises and industrial sectors, and also to reduce the range of centrally distributed output from 1,800 to 1,400 types of goods is also aimed at the immediate future. The latter, obviously, should be regarded as a step toward the development of wholesale trade in means of production. In conclusion the minister stresses: "Without stabilizing the economy, we cannot switch to the broad liberalization within whose framework we can discuss the suitability for us of plans for a market economy."

In other words, first let us sort out our tactics, and then we shall talk about strategy. The viewpoint, undoubtedly, is not without its logic. It should be taken into account that the leap to a balanced market is possible for today's Romania only after currency reform. Moreover—and local observers note this—such a rapid structural shift in the national economy in accordance with market needs would inevitably involve cutting, or else eliminating, entire production sections employing 100,000 workers.

Simplifying somewhat, it can be said that today the Romanian leadership is faced with the choice of either a sharp and very painful break with the existing economic structure, which entails social consequences which are not entirely predictable, or a cautious, step by step, move along the road of reform. By all accounts, the majority still incline toward the second, gentler variant. By the way, let us not forget also the fact that a general election here are set for April. Today's authorities are essentially transitional, and their view on many things can be determined simply by their unwillingness to overstep the term of office allocated to them.

The reader, who has become a bit of an expert in economic problems, of course, has noticed how may points of contact there are between the present situation in Romania and our economic perestroyka. This is natural, since the fundamental tasks coincide—getting rid of an inefficient economy inherited from a bureaucratic regime. We started earlier; the Romanians are just starting out on the renewal path.

Academicians Assess Prospects for East Europe

PM1701111990 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 1, 7 Jan 90 pp 12-13

["Dialogue" between USSR People's Deputy Academician Oleg Bogomolov and Marina Pavlova-Silvanskaya, leading researcher of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics of the World Socialist System: "Eastern Europe: A Painful Step Forward"]

[Text] People's Deputy of the USSR, Academician Oleg Bogomolov, and leading researcher of the Institute of Economics of the World Socialist System of the USSR Academy of Sciences Marina Pavlova-Silvanskaya discuss their view of the changes in the socialist countries of Eastern Europe.

Bogomolov: Tempestuous changes are sweeping Eastern Europe. A new life is to be built (it is already in progress) after the complete dismantling of the Stalinist economic and political structures. The contours of a new emerging society are in evidence but it's hard to predict how society will finally look because it's hard to predict what the rate of change will be.

Pavlova-Silvanskaya: The element of unpredictability is really great. Experts on central and Eastern Europe at least had no doubts early last year that the crisis in this part of the continent was not only general but also so acute that a series of detonating explosions could be expected very soon. No one was able to predict though precisely which events were going to touch off a chain reaction. Now that the crisis situations have been resolved in the Warsaw Pact countries, forecasting has become even harder.

Bogomolov: It is very important to see that the long overdue changes in some cases can be slowed down or even delayed. But the process can't be cut short even using the most forcible means. Society is shaking off the stagnation, this has largely been made possible by the Soviet perestroika.

Pavlova-Silvanskaya: My feeling is that 1990 will hardly see new violent convulsions in the five East European countries. From now on they are most likely to flow along. The GDR, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Romania will probably concentrate on trying to end the past. People need to talk out their feelings after long years of forced silence. Like we in this country, they are going to fill in gaps in their history which are rife everywhere in Eastern Europe. Much energy would go to preparing and holding free elections and then to forming new governments and to draft their programmes.

Poland and Hungary have travelled a big part of the road. In 1990 they will bring in anti-inflation and streamline their economies. This of necessity will entail

the closure of inefficient enterprises, a cutback on jobs and a fall in living standards. By and by, people in both countries are worn out from the protracted crisis. I think explosive material will again pile up and fresh tensions will build up. But I don't think they are going to be as bad as to threaten fresh violence in 1990. There may be waves of strikes (or other forms of protest), on a rather big scale, and these will affect both urban and rural areas. The pressure may prove so strong that I don't rule out chances so that the present cabinets will be replaced and of a partial departure from the present (neo-liberal, perhaps) economic course and steering towards a more pronounced social-democratic course. The rising market economy would take on a strong social colouring.

Bogomolov: I think this forecast is risky. It's quite probable there'll by some drifting along, but one can't totally rule out rapid, unpredictable changes in the situation. In particular, radical sentiments of masses of people have brought forth (or are going to) politicians or cabinets whose course may prove to be adventurist even if because of their lack of professionalism.

One thing is certain: no miracles are to happen in their economies. All the difficulties of the past—caused by foreign debts, a technical lag and slow rates of economic growth—will remain. There may be a further decline in the economic situation and falling growth rates in the whole region.

As regards politics I expect the positions of the ruling parties to grow weaker because they are obviously changing more slowly than the public attitudes. In order that the Communist parties and their successors could become active again and become an influential political force, they need time, much time at that. As for the immediate future, one has to face the fact that they have lost their leading role.

Pavlova-Silvanskaya: I agree. Yet another argument to uphold this forecast: having suffered severe setbacks, the Communist parties are banking, first and foremost, on a moral cleansing. This, however, involves unpleasant disclosures which further repulse the people, first of all, and second, a moral renovation alone is clearly not enough to solve the chief tasks: to heal the economy and give it a required dynamism. But it is precisely the radical turn of the economic policy that is proving a very hard effort for the Communist parties. To make it they should detach themselves from their ideological, theoretical, social and class roots.

The crisis in the former ruling parties is bound to affect the results of all elections scheduled this year. I think that it is hardly likely that there will be a repitition of last year's situation in Poland known as "Mitterrand formula" a strong Communist president and a premier from the former opposition. A strong president as a guarantor of international alliances and a smooth transition to a new political system (a transition precluding a Tianamen situation) had remained highly functional until the army, the police and the government apparatus became depoliticized. Since this process in all East European states is so intense, the prerequisites for a multiparty system will be there in 1990, the prospect of a middle-strength president (not necessarily a Communist) is becoming increasingly realistic. Such a head of state can play a favourable role in firming up the new democratic institutions.

Former ruling parties' would hardly suffer so disastrous a defeat in the parliamentary elections as did last year's candidates in the elections to the Polish Senate: one should think that the then organizational and tactical miscalculations will not be repeated (I of course exclude the Communist Party of Romania whose future is very doubtful). Generally, there is hardly any such party that would be able to make sure it is not going to be defeated. For example, Chairman of the Socialist Unity Party and the Socialist Democratic Party Gregor Gysi has already calculated that, under the prevailing siuation, even 20 per cent of the votes would be a fine result for his Party. The number of the newly formed parties and of those that were already there, and which are pushing for independence and a more pronounced political image, is growing. Therefore one can expect a rather scattered pattern of voices and a formation of coalition governments.

Bogomolov: I think also that it is in the cards that the East European countries will veer appreciably towards the West. This is especially true of economic relations because the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance is unable to give the needed aid to its members. Surely the structure of economic relations that took 40 years to form can't change in a year. Bilateral relations with the Soviet Union will remain important for a longer period.

Pavlova-Silvanskaya: This turn is a rather natural reaction of masses of people. They think if they have decided to break with the past, it should be done once and for all. In the past they pinned all their hopes on the East. Now all they hope for is assistance from the West.

One can expect a rise in anti-Soviet sentiment, I think. For example, in the GDR early last November crowds chanted: "Gorby, help us!" Now the rallying cry is "Germans are one nation" and there have even been instances of enmity towards the Soviet military and civilians. The same is happening in Poland and Bulgaria.

Bogomolov: Yes, but the overall attitude to the USSR depends on the success or failure of perestroika and, in particular the shaping up of ethnic relations in this country.

Pavlova-Silvanskaya: People in Eastern Europe already take for granted that the "Brezhnev doctrine" no longer exists and that the USSR poses no threat to their sovereignty. This would make national feelings less lopsided and would surely be greatly helped by the prospect of a union of both German states. Besides, long-standing problems in relations between the peoples of Eastern Europe, like the Czechs and the Poles, the Czechs and the Slovaks, etc., will show through to a greater degree.

There might be more active debates on the problem of certain subregional alliances; in the North of Europe, in Central Europe and along the Danube.

Bogomolov: However controversial this process might be, it would mark a step forard to a more civilized society and to a correction of the deformities that inflicted on millions of people.

New East European Political Parties Viewed

LD1701225190 Moscow International Service in Slovak 1600 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Georgiy Grammatchikov commentary]

[Text] More than 80 political parties and public organizations have been founded in Czechoslovakia and registration of another 20 is planned. Something similar to this is happening in other East European countries. Our commentator Georgiy Grammatchikov wrote the following on this topic:

This is without doubt surprising after the long decades of lethargy in which social life of the countries of this region found itself. There are various political platforms, directions and policies—ranging from Greens to monarchists, from social democrats to clericals. Many parties are changing into associatons and fronts, creating coalitions, or starting sharp polemics among themselves. Communist parties' position in society has changed sharply. Following Poland, Hungary, the GDR, and Czechoslovakia, the abolition of the constitutional article on the leading role of the Communist Party was also announced by Bulgaria. The Romanian Communist Party has, in fact, ceased to exist. It had become an obedient weapon of Ceausescu's dictatorship and totally discredited itself in the people's eyes.

What is behind all these phenomena? In my view, wrote our commentator Georgiy Grammatchikov, on the whole they reflect the process of democratization of East European countries and the sharp increase of civic activity. New life is beginning also in parties which have hitherto led only a formal existence. We were merely a cloak in the CPCZ's [Czechoslovak Communist Party] play on democracy, announced members of the Slovak Freedom Party at their congress in Bratislava. The appearance of new parties and the revival of activity by those which were only registered on paper is a natural reaction to yesterday's power monopoly of the former ruling parties. This is why the policies and statements of the leading officials of the new formations are so very critical. At the same time, this criticism is frequently anti-communist.

In this connection, I would like to inform you about my own thoughts, wrote our commentator. Everyone would perhaps agree that the rule of such officials as, let's say, Honecker and Zhivkov, without evening mentioning Ceausescu, has inflicted great damage to countries and peoples. At the same time, they relied on a widespread repressive apparatus and on party hierarchy, which should also be seriously denounced. However, the party does not comprise just the bureaucratic elite, which was striving for the best possible pickings; the party also constitutes millions of honest and convinced patriots and qualified specialists. But the fundamental changes in the countries of the region took place with their participation. Their experience, knowledge, and creative potential represents a real and unavoidable contribution to the process of renewal.

Today, the communist parties themselves are going through a complex and torturous process of reassessing values. Three factions have developed in the Bulgarian Communist Party, and all three of them stand for de-Stalinization of Bulgarian society, for the deepening of democracy, for national consent, and for non-use of violence. Shouting 'Down with the Communists' at the meetings is a simple matter, which does not require great civic boldness. In my view, finding a constructive solution to the problems faced by the East European countries is a much more difficult thing. In the free elections, which will be held this year, the Communist, left-wing, and other parties will gain their proportion of power in keeping with the will of the people. However, power presupposes first and foremost responsibility, the unavoidability of sometimes approving even unpopular decisons. This is an altogether different matter than being in the opposition. I think that the representatives of Polish Solidarity are nowadays able to speak at length on this topic.

But what about the voters themselves, thue ordinary citizens of East European countries? They face a complex task: To find their way through the kaleidoscope of parties, associations, and factions, to differentiate between good and bad and, in the final outcome, to determine the future of their country.

West Europe

Shevardnadze Receives FRG Charge d'Affaires Heyken

LD1801185590 Moscow TASS in English 1820 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 18 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze today received the West German charge d'affaires in the USSR, Eberhard Heyken, at his request.

They discussed bilateral relations and the current situation in Europe in the light of the deepening all-European process.

Vorontsov, FRG Economic Minister Hold Discussion

LD1801141990 Moscow TASS in English 1401 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 18 TASS—Soviet First Deputy Foreign Minister Yuliy Vorontsov today received West German Minister for Economic Cooperation Juergen Warnke.

They had an extensive exchange of views on the international situation in specific regions, international economic relations and the invigoration of a multilateral dialogue on development problems.

Voronin Leads Government Delegation to Paris

LD1501141690 Moscow TASS in English 1337 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Text] Paris January 15 TASS—A Soviet Government delegation led by First Deputy Prime Minister Lev Voronin, cochairman of the permanent mixed Soviet-French Commission on Scientific, Technical and Economic Cooperation, arrived in Paris today.

During the forthcoming talks, the sides will discuss prospects for boosting relations between the two countries and plan to sign an agreement on economic, industrial and scientific cooperation.

Signs Cooperation Agreement

LD1601084590 Moscow TASS in English 0806 GMT 16 Jan 90

[Text] Paris January 16 TASS—Soviet First Deputy Prime Minister Lev Voronin and French Minister of State for the Economy, Finance and the Budget Pierre Beregovoy held talks in Paris on Monday.

A Soviet-French agreement on economic, industrial, scientific and technological cooperation between the governments of the two countries was signed. A long-term programme of cooperation for 1991-1995 will be elaborated on the basis of the agreement. The programme will specify the areas and forms of bilateral cooperation at different levels, including specific projects.

The agreement envisages the formation of a single intergovernmental Soviet-French commission to replace the previous "grand" and "small" commissions. The commission will attend to compliance with the agreement, encourage and cooperate Soviet-French cooperation in the economy, ecology, science and technology.

At the talks, it was proposed that France should increase natural gas imports from the USSR in exchange for consumer goods and food. The Soviet side proposed that a seminar for French businessmen be held in Moscow during a session of the newly formed inter-governmental commission next March. The seminar will deal with joint ventures in the USSR.

The new Soviet-French agreement stems from the declaration on the principles of development and perfection of cooperation, which was signed during the summit meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Francois Mitterrand in Paris last July.

Both sides believe that the agreement is an important political document which, along with the declaration, illustrates a new stage in relations between the two states.

"The agreement provideds a legal basis for a new stage in Soviet-French cooperation and ensures conditions for putting its mechanism into play," Voronin said.

"The previous agreement, which functioned for almost 25 years, fulfilled its tasks. Much has changed since that time and swift changes are now under way in our countries, in Europe and the whole world. We should respond to that," said the head of the Soviet delegation.

Received by French Premier

LD1701085390 Moscow TASS in English 0637 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] Paris January 17 TASS—A meeting between Soviet First Deputy Prime Minister Lev Voronin and French Prime Minister Michel Rocard took place in the French capital on Tuesday. The meeting was held in a warm, friendly and frank atmosphere.

The participants discussed the development of political relations between the Soviet Union and France, emphasising their versatile character.

They expressed support for the project to found a European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, to promote financial aid to East European countries, and noted a similarity of positions on the inviolability of European borders.

The French prime minister praised measures, which were discussed here during the talks between the Soviet delegation and French representatives, to develop bilateral, trade and economic cooperation.

France would like to hold a large trade and industrial exhibition in Moscow in 1991 to feature French achievements in the fields of the economy, science and culture, he said.

Rocard supported the Soviet view of the need to expedite the process of establishing joint ventures and agreed to consider French participation in the development of the natural resources of the Kola Peninsula and in Soviet defence industry conversion.

Relations Assessed Positively

PM1801143790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] L.A. Voronin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, has had a meeting in Paris with French Prime Minister M. Rocard.

The participants in the meeting touched on the development of political relations between the Soviet Union and France and made a positive assessment of these relations, emphasizing their multifaceted nature. Support was expressed for the project to create a European Bank

for Reconstruction and Development, designed to promote financial aid to East European countries, and the commonality of positions on the question of the inviolability of borders in Europe was noted. M. Rocard supported the Soviet side's opinion of the need to accelerate the process of creating joint ventures and expressed readiness to examine the question of France's involvement in opening up the natural riches of the Kola Peninsula and in converting the Soviet defense industry.

In conclusion, the French prime minister wished perestroyka in the Soviet Union success and confirmed his intention to visit the USSR this year in accordance with an invitation from the Soviet Government.

Frolov Welcomes French CP Paper's Chief Editor

PM1801115190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jan 90 Second Edition p 6

[Unattributed report: "G est of PRAVDA"]

[Text] Roland Leroy, member of the French Communist Party [PCF] Politburo and political director of L'HUMANITE, has visited Moscow at the invitation of PRAVDA's editorial office. He was met at Sheremetyevo Airport by I.T. Frolov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chief editor of PRAVDA.

On 16 January R. Leroy visited PRAVDA's editorial office and met with the newspaper's editorial staff.

R. Leroy and I.T. Frolov held a conversation during which I.T. Frolov briefed R. Leroy on progress in perestroyka in our country and PRAVDA's role in this great and varied work, and R. Leroy spoke about the French Communists' activity in the contemporary conditions and L'HUMANITE's involvement in the French working people's struggle for their rights.

Questions concerning the expansion and improvement of the forms of cooperation between PRAVDA and L'HUMANITE, the preparation of joint actions by the two fraternal papers, and the search for new approaches and contacts in joint work were discussed.

At the end of the conversation Roland Leroy was asked to answer two questions by a PRAVDA correspondent:

Question: You visit our country pretty often. What problems would you like to solve during this current trip to Moscow?

Answer: The aim of my present visit is to further develop cooperation between L'HUMANITE and PRAVDA and raise it to a new, higher level.

Our newspapers are respectively the organs of the PCF and of the CPSU Central Committee. Last September the leaders of our parties, Mikhail Gorbachev and Georges Marchais, had a meeting during which they confirmed the profound coincidence of their views on and assessments of the basic issues on today's agenda. This serves as the basis for the expansion of cooperation between our newspapers, particularly as both publications and their collectives consider it essential to make greater use of every opportunity to provide a fuller and more vivid picture to their readers. That is the reason why we should develop our cooperation.

The conversation which I had with I.T. Frolov showed that our positions in this regard coincide across the whole spectrum of questions touched on.

Question: What would you like to say to our readers as we enter a new year?

Answer: I would like to be concise but expressive. I wish 1990 to be a year of great success in the implementation of perestroyka in the interests of the Soviet people, consolidating worldwide peace, and strengthening the positions of socialism.

Receives British Ambassador

PM1801105790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jan 90 Second Edition p 6

[Unattributed report under the general heading "PRAVDA's Guests": "Ambassador Received"]

[Text] On 16 January, I.T. Frolov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chief editor of PRAVDA, received British Ambassador to the USSR R.Q. Braithwaite at the latter's request.

Reopening of French Embassy in Kabul Viewed

PM1801085990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Own correspondent Yu. Kovalenko dispatch: "France Returns to Kabul"]

[Text] Kabul—France's influential LE MONDE has carried a front-page editorial commentary devoted to Paris' decision to reopen its embassy in Afghanistan under the headline cited above.

Let us remind you that it was closed last February "for security reasons" and all its diplomatic and technical personnel recalled to France. The Foreign Ministry emphasized that the closure of the embassy did not mean that diplomatic relations had been severed.

A great deal has changed in Afghanistan over the last year. Despite the fact that E. Avise, minister delegate to the French foreign minister, said that this decision has no "political significance," according to LE MONDE it has acquired a symbolic nature under present conditions.

Above all because the opening of the embassy breaches the "united front" presented by the Western countries and Japan, who still have no intention of returning their permanent representatives to the Afghan capital. Washington has already expressed concern at this step by France, which, in its viewpoint, looks like support for Najibullah's government and may set other states an example.

In turn the Afghan opposition has attacked Paris. Representatives of some groupings have assessed its decision as an "unfriendly gesture," others as "renunciation of support for the opposition." "We are disappointed that France is assisting the Kabul regime," a member of the Jamiat-e-Eslami grouping said.

Paris has not reacted to the mujahidin's attacks. It is still proceeding on the premise that a solution to the Afghan problem can only be achieved through national reconciliation. This is Afghanistan's internal problem and France has no intention of interfering. At the same time its foreign minister, R. Dumas, has frequently expressed the hope that the sides involved in the conflict will succeed in putting an end to the bloodshed and Afghanistan will be able to obtain peace and tranquillity.

Paris is attentively watching the development of the situation in the county. In July and December 1989 a French mission of Foreign Ministry representatives visited Kabul.

People here say that, despite all the forecasts, Najibullah's government has not only not been deposed following the Soviet troop withdrawal but, on the contrary, has gradually consolidated its positions and is resolving numerous problems facing the country. By contrast, strife in the opposition camp is not easing and there is no end to its various groupings' mutual annihilation. The coalition government of opposition representatives set up with tremendous difficulty last year, LE MONDE points out, is still a fiction. All this has resulted in the mujahidin increasingly discrediting themselves in Western eyes.

France's opening of its Kabul embassy was dictated by a realistic approach to the situation in the country. It attests that France has a more positive opinion of the prospects for a peaceful settlement and the capabilities of Najibullah's government.

Next month French President F. Mitterrand is to visit Pakistan. Considering France's active role in settling regional conflicts, it can be assumed that its president will submit a new initiative in the course of the visit designed to promote the speediest resolution of the Afghan problem.

Meanwhile M.S. Gorbachev, LE MONDE stresses, has won his bet regarding the settlement of the Afghan conflict and this is a significant success for him: It is this success that has been taken into consideration by France, which is the only Western state sending its diplomats to the Afghan capital. For a country which was for many years in the forefront of those offering the opposition political, humanitarian, and material support, LE MONDE reckons, this means at the least a change of political course vis-a-vis Kabul.

Athens Traders Deal in Smuggled Soviet Goods

PM1801105590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jan 90 First Edition p 7

[TASS report: "'Scarce Soviet Goods' on the Greek Street Market"]

[Text] Athens, 16 Jan—The hubbub of voices dominates the huge market which is held in the Athens district of Monastiraki every Sunday. You name it, and you can get it there! It seems as if everything and anything can be bought: From ancient Greek coins greening with age to modern Japanese motorcycles.

There are, however, unexpected surprises lying in wait for the visitor from the Soviet Union. A long line of traders is to be found at the market's most distant corner, and you are automatically amazed by the goods displayed right there on the ground. Cans of black and red caviar, canned crab meat and other delicacies, fur hats, watches, cameras of all makes, movie cameras, huge bales of linen sheets, terry cloth towels, woolen Orenburg shawls, and even tubes of "Cheburashka" toothpaste. The goods are most diverse, but they all are marked "Made in the USSR." You see at the feet of the busy traders an abundance—something to which our eyes are unaccustomed—of everything that is made in our country but is now virtually impossible to find on the shelves in Soviet stores.

The customers carefully examine the goods, barter, and often are only too happy to buy. After all, the goods are much cheaper than similar products made in the West on sale in local stores. One other detail—almost all vendors of "scarce Soviet goods" speak Russian between themselves. They are so-called "Pontic Greeks," who have taken up permanent residence in Greece from the USSR. The Greek authorities grant them citizenship. The flow of these people to Greece has swollen in the last few years, following the easing of rules governing travel out of the USSR.

But the export of many goods from the USSR, especially foodstuffs, is now restricted. This is why they could hardly have appeared on the local market through official channels. So, what has happened? The vendors themselves, of course, give no answer to this question. The policeman on duty at the market also shrugs his shoulders: "We have free trade here, gentlemen." Staffers of the USSR Consulate in Greece have no relevant information, either.

Could it be that new arrivals are selling off their personal belongings? Just one look is enough to make it clear that we are talking about the export and sale of goods in large shipments. As if this were not enough, members of the Pontic colony in Athens claim that they export for sale major appliances like television sets and grand and upright pianos. But they are difficult to buy in Soviet cities. "I have no obstacles to exporting goods from the USSR," one trader smugly declared. Thus, maybe the competent Soviet authorities could explain why Soviet

goods which are impossible to buy in our stores are so abundantly available in the Athens street market? It is, after all, clear that we are talking not just about trade in "trivial" scarce goods, but well and truly about smuggling on a grand scale.

Latin America & Caribbean

Gerasimov on Central American Developments

LD1601232590 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1411 GMT 16 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, 16 Jan (TASS)—In the opinion of the Soviet side, the hiatus in the efforts to regulate the crisis situation in Central America, caused, first of all, by the U.S. invasion of Panama, is nearing an end. Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the USSR Foreign Affairs Ministry Information Directorate, stated this today at a briefing. This was how he commented upon the reports that the Salvador Government, headed by Alfredo Cristiani, and representatives of the Farabundi Marti National Liberation Front, have declared their intention to begin consultations with the UN secretary general on the question of his mediation in the talks on a settlement of the situation in this country. The USSR welcomes any steps in this direction, the Foreign Ministry spokesman noted.

He gave a positive assessment also to President Alfredo Criostiani's sanction of the arrest of several leading Salvadoran servicemen suspected of involvement in the murder of six clergymen last November, having emphasized that this step by the president also furthers the beginning of the rebels' talks with the government.

The Soviet Union approves of the normally developing electoral campaign in Nicaragua, which is taking place in strict accordance with the commitments which the Nicarguans took upon themselves at the meeting of the presidents of Central America in the city of Tela, the Foreign Ministry spokesman noted.

At the same time, Gennadiy Gerasimov stated, one cannot ignore the fact that the peaceful process in the region continues to encounter serious difficulties, the elimination of which the Latin American and all international public opinion demands. It is a question, in the first place, of the need for the earliest possible withdrawal of the U.S. occupation troops from Panama, and also of the unconditional fulfilment by all sides involved in the conflict of the commitments, undertaken in San Jose and at the previous meetings of presidents of Central American countries, he added.

Commentator Reaffirms Hopes for Tegucigalpa Summit

PY1801224890 Moscow in Spanish to Latin America 2300 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Leonid Levchenko commentary]

[Text] In Tegucigalpa on 17 January, the presidents of five Central American countries will meet again to work out regional problems. The meeting will coincide with the inauguration of new Honduran President Rafael Leonardo Callejas. This meeting, notes our commentator Leonid Levchenko, had not been previously planned. Therefore, the Central American chiefs of state, who agreed to attend the Tegucigalpa inauguration, will sit at the roundtable without an agenda prepared in advance. They will exchange opinions in a broad [word indistinct], but I considered that this nonofficial exchange of opinions based on the situation that has been created lately is necessary.

The thing is that the U.S. intervention in Panama created a threat to the process of Central American normalization. In Nicaragua, the authorities were forced to adopt measures to strengthen security, taking into account the hostility demonstrated by the United States against the Nicaraguan Government. The occupiers of Panama, disregarding the norms of diplomatic inmunity, broke into the residence of the Nicaraguan ambassador; therefore, it was be difficult to predict how Washington might act toward Nicaragua. This question was on everyone's lips: Would Nicaragua be Washington's next victim, after Panama? The highest representatives of the U.S. Administration had to persuade the probing journalists that the action in Panama will not be repeated.

Be that as it may, the case of Panama made the situation in Central America more critical. Fortunately, thanks to the efforts of the United Nations, which will mediate the talks between the Salvadoran Government and the Salvadoran rebels, the situation changed for the better. The initiative to resume the dialogue was taken by the Farabundo Marti Liberation Front, as was the initiative to invite the UN secretary general to mediate these negotiations. The upcoming resumption of dialogue in El Salvador, with UN mediation, is greeted approvingly in the Soviet Union, as would be any step leading to a political solution in the region.

That statement was made in Moscow by Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gerasimov. He also pointed out that the unfolding of Nicaraguan electoral campaign is being followed closely in the USSR. This campaign is unfolding in compliance with the Tela agreements made by the region's presidents. For the Central American normalization process to be successful, it is necessary, in the view of the Soviet Union, for states outside the region to contribute to that process or, at least, not to raise obstacles to it.

It is assumed that this subject will also be taken up at the Tegucigalpa summit.

U.S. Money Seen 'Sabotaging' Nicaragua Election

PM1801113390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jan 90 Second Edition p 7

[Own correspondent V. Listov dispatch: "Ten Candidates for President"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The electoral process in Nicaragua has now entered its deciding phase. OAS Secretary General Baena Soares, to the annoyance of Washington, which had accused the Sandinistas of attempting to "sabotage the elections," stated recently that the "election process in Nicaragua is proceeding normally." Even Cardinal Obando y Bravo, a fervent opponent of the Sandinistas, has been forced to admit this.

Since the Sandinist National Liberation Front [FSLN] and 20 other parties concluded a "political agreement," the Sandinistas have been consistently carrying out the provisions relating to the elections. Thus, an amnesty has been granted to 457 prisoners, more than 4,000 people have been demobilized from patriotic military service (people's militia) units, and the conditions have been created for Contra and rebel Miskito Indian leaders to return. Members of the "Nicaraguan resistance" can take part in the elections if they end their armed struggle and return home before 5 February.

The voters responded positively to the Sandinistas' election platform. Describing it, Nicaraguan Vice President Sergio Ramirez stated in the newspaper BARRICADA: "The FSLN program guarantees increased living standards for every Nicaraguan family in conditions of peace and the demobilization and repatriation of the Contras, who will be able to reunite with their families; it guarantees increased employment with stable wages and buying power, with more extensive supplies of foodstuffs and prime necessities, and with improved social services."

What is the National Opposition Union [UNO] proposing? And what is its nature, in general?

"What is the UNO? A formless agglomeration of extreme right-wing parties and groups ridden with internal contradictions," Carlos Fernando Chamorro, chief editor of BARRICADA, replied. "If you look into it, the opposition is promising virtually nothing. The UNO program is woolly."

And yet the UNO does have some trump cards compared with the other opposition parties. For instance, the support of the Catholic Church. Admittedly, that is a two-edged sword. The war being waged by the United States against Nicaragua and the Contras' excesses have brought disaster and suffering to tens of thousands of Nicaraguan families. And these families know about the anti-Sandinista activities of the church and its head, Cardinal Obando y Bravo, about its close cooperation with the U.S. Embassy in Managua, and about its continuing support for the Contras.

Voters are also condemning the financial aid which the UNO receives from Washington. A group of European Parliament deputies, visiting Managua, spoke out quite definitely: The financial aid illegally arriving from the United States is "sabotaging the entire Nicaraguan electoral process." The revelation that the UNO is financially dependent on the United States has alienated some voters.

Under these conditions the UNO leaders would by all accounts not be averse to wrecking the elections altogether. Last weekend was the first throughout the election campaign that they did not hold mass demonstrations This step was taken to be a signal. Expressing concern at these actions, Nicaraguan President Ortega had accused the UNO leadership of plotting to create a "Panama situation"—that is, to present the elections as a fraud and create a pretext for U.S. intervention.

The Christian Socialists adopt a different position. Like the UNO they too receive financial support from outside—from the Christian Democratic parties of the FRG, Italy, and other European countries—but they stress that "while U.S. money goes on continuing the war, money from Italy or the FRG goes on strengthening the civilian alternative."

Here is how Christian Socialist Mauricio Diaz, leader of the Social Christian Popular Party, described his position:

"We believe that the war years should be left behind us, that the Contras are a failed 'alternative,' and that we should not be a pawn in the aggressive U.S. policy against our country. The thousands of crimes committed by the Contras have not brought Nicaragua one iota of democracy or freedom, much less peace. That is why we state that hiring yourself out to Washington for dollars—which is what the UNO leaders do—is really treasonable."

As Mirna Torres, head of the public relations department, said, the National Assembly has allocated $14 million to finance the election council's activities. Some of the funds have been drawn from the state budget. There has also been outside help. For instance, the FRG and Spain have presented computers to a computer center where 680 people will be working. For the first time all political parties registered for the elections will receive computerized lists of voters. The Sandinistas themselves believe that they will win 60% of the vote. And these should be "honest and clean" votes.

Secretary Baker's Panama Remarks Criticized

90UI0271A Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 6 Jan 90 p 3

[V. Solovyev comment: "Do Not Believe Your Ears"]

[Text] To judge by a report in the INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, U.S. Secretary of State James Baker has put in a serious claim to a scientific discovery. It is a question of formal logic and, specifically, of a system of demonstrating the truth.

Justifying the U.S. aggression against Panama, Mr Baker employed a method of reasoning hitherto unknown to science. The invasion of Panama, it turns out, is exactly the same as the Soviet Union's noninvasion of the East European countries. The fact that the USSR, displaying concern for democracy, has not intervened in the affairs of other countries is the equivalent of the position of the

United States, which in the name of the same democracy was forced to intervene to strengthen it (that is, democracy).

You could not put it more subtly! It was the Soviet policy of respect for the sovereignty of other countries, it turns out, that inspired the United States to direct intervention.

This logic, which makes it possible to prove anything by any reference to anything one wishes, naturally makes things easier. You could justify whatever you liked. The Soviet Union is cutting its military budget? Excellent! The U.S. contribution may be made by way of an increase in Pentagon spending. The USSR welcomes democratic processes in other countries? Very good, this may be used to justify the invasion of any neighboring country. The list of cases where this "scientific" innovation could be used to good effect could be continued.

Fortunately, the vast majority of states of the world community has yet to arrive at the profundity of J. Baker's discovery and has condemned the United States for the aggression in Panama. Whatever kind of person General Noriega is and whatever the situation which had taken shape in Panama, nothing can justify one state invading another. This is the crux of the problem. Aggression will always be aggression, whatever label is pinned on it. And it is very appropriate to recall here the appeal of Kozma Prutkov that you not believe your eyes if on the elephant's cage you see the name "Buffalo". What is in the cage does not change because of the way it is labeled.

Chile To Seek Worldwide Diplomatic Ties

LD1801121190 Moscow TASS in English 0942 GMT 18 Dec 89

[By TASS Correspondent Mikhail Stepanov]

[Text] Quito January 18 TASS—The new government of Chile will reject international isolation and establish relations with all countries, including the Soviet Union, Enrique Silva Simma, designated foreign minister in the would-be government, told TASS.

The new government will take steps to restore Soviet-Chilean relations to a level that had existed before the authoritatian regime seized power in Chile, he said.

The Chilean Government's foreign policy will be based on principles of respect for national sovereignty and non-interference in other countries' internal affairs, he said.

The strict observance of human rights will be an inalienable part of President Patricio Aylwin's foreign policy, the minister-designate underlined.

Political & Social

All-Union Congress Continues 19 Jan

Gorbachev: Transcaucasus Situation Not Improving

LD1901094490 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0847 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, 19 Jan (TASS)—A TASS correspondent reports from the Kremlin:

The situation in the Transcaucasus is not improving. It has become set in a tense state, Mikhail Gorbachev stated here today. He spoke at the opening of the second day of the work of the all-union conference of workers, peasants, and engineering and technical intelligentsia.

Instances of clashes and pogroms and attempts to seize weapons in the Transcaucasus are isolated in character. However, the situation remains tense, the Soviet leader noted. In accordance with the decree of the introducing a state of emergency in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and in a number of rayons of Armenia and Azerbaijan the necessary measures are being taken by the Ministries of Internal Affairs and Defense, by the USSR KGB and by the transport workers. In the north Caucasus a partial mobilization of reservists has been introduced to render assistance. However this has given rise to discontent among the population.

The Soviet people, Mikhail Gorbachev said, are resolutely demanding that the necessary measures be taken in order to stop the development of negative processes. He condemned the attempts to play on national feelings for mercenary aims. A small group of extremists, irresponsible adventurists and representatives of the shadow economy, who are robbing both of these peoples, have an interest in tension. Perestroyka sticks in their throats, but they cannot go against it directly and therefore are clutching at tension on a nationalities' basis.

Forces have already appeared in Azerbaijan which favor the republic's secession from the USSR, for an Islamic Azerbaijan, but they are not receiving support from the people, Mikhail Gorbachev said. Statements can also be heard by those who are urging on extremist forces and who have stirred up the consciousness of the people but who want to shift the responsibility onto the center: "We have no grievances against the Armenians and Armenia. It is Moscow which has done everything to cause the two people to collide. It needs that."

We see the situation, the Soviet leader stated, and will assess it correctly and will act in such a way as to lend assistance to the two peoples and to defend their lives. Although extremists may undertake all sorts of provocations and try to exacerbate the situation—in some places water mains are being blown up and vital supplies are being attacked—we will do everything to stop the trenchancy from growing further, Mikhail Gorbachev said.

Complex Perestroyka Problems

LD1801194890 Moscow TASS in English 1931 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 18 TASS—Concern over problems that arose during the renewal of Soviet society was expressed at a meeting of representatives of the Soviet working class, farmers, engineers and technicians. The meeting, organised by the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, opened in the Grand Kremlin Palace today.

Opening the meeting, Mikhail Gorbachev candidly spoke about complex problems of the present-day perestroyka, setting the tone of the debate.

"The working class supports perestroyka, but there has been no real improvement in its position so far. It is necessary to tell the whole truth about why perestroyka is marking time." These words from the speech of Ukrainian weaver Vanda Venglovskaya keynoted the meeting.

Workers, farmers and specialists critically appraised the situation in the country. "Enough promises. Leaders of the party and of the country should honestly tell the people that there will be no real improvements in the years ahead," said Moscow machine-tool maker Nikolay Nikolayev. "People should be asked to be tolerant, but they should be confident that the country is being guided, that laws operate. So far documents multiply while anarchy grows. This situation might be of advantage to somebody, but not to the working people," he said.

Many speakers expressed dissatisfaction that there are no real stimuli for productive work, that there are no economic levers combatting mismanagement.

And still, summing up the first day of the meeting, it should be noted that many participants lacked perspective. Some speakers started reciting their achievements only to end with requests to central authorities. Gorbachev read out a letter from the audience demanding that such speeches be curtailed.

The meeting will continue tomorrow.

Speeches 'Much, Much Sharper'

LD1901105490 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0930 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Excerpt] The All-Union conference of representatives of the working class, the peasantry, and engineering and technical workers is continuing in Moscow. Here is our correspondent's post at the Georgiyevskiy Hall in the Kremlin. Over to our correspondent Aleksandr Ruvinskiy:

[Ruvinskiy] The conference continued its work here in the Kremlin today. Representatives of various professions and various regions of the country took the floor. Opening the conference today, the 2d day of its work, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev dwelled on the situation

in the Transcaucasus. He noted that the situation there is not improving and that it has become bogged down in a tense state. It is, above all, a handful of extremists, fanning passions in the region and those who represent the black market economy that are interested in maintaining this situation.

During the sitting yesterday Mikhail Sergeyevich had meetings with the delegations of Azerbaijan and Armenia and had conversations with them.

Many representatives of the working class, the peasantry, and scientific and technical intelligentsia have taken the floor at the conference today. The salient points made by the speakers are that everyone is calling for order to be strengthened in the country, so that one can work in a calmer atmosphere and is able to look to the future with confidence.

It has to be said that today's speeches were much, much sharper than those that were made yesterday. The speakers also touched on our party's problems. Here are excerpts from one speech and this is what was said in it: Well, who is now carrying out perestroyka? Mainly those who have brought the country to the necessity of such perestroyka. A serious renewal within the party apparatus is essential. Confidence in the party and the government is declining. By the 28th Congress direct elections of delegates are essential.

Gorbachev Commemorates Deaths

LD1801224990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Text] [Announcer] Opening the evening session [of the meeting of representatives of the Soviet working class, farmers, engineers, and technicians], Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev said:

[Begin Gorbachev recording] Our press has published condolences on behalf of the country's leadership, the highest bodies of power, in connection with the fact that people have died—Armenians, Azeris, and Russians—as a result of the rampage by hooligan elements and pogrom participants. Participants of this conference have proposed honoring the memory of those people, thereby joining in the condolences expressed by the country's leadership. [brief silence] The situation there is still not getting any easier. [end recording]

[Announcer] The participants in the conference rose from their seats to honor the memory of the victims of the outrages and crimes committed during the last few days in Baku and a number of other settlements in Azerbaijan, as well as in some areas of Armenia.

Leadership Appeals to Azerbaijani, Armenian People

LD1801231690 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2034 GMT 18 Jan 90

["Text" of "Appeal to the People of Azerbaijan and Armenia" issued by the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the USSR Council of Ministers; date not given]

[Text] In this difficult hour, we appeal to you, citizens of Azerbaijan and Armenia, to your reason and to your hearts, to your responsibility for the destiny of your peoples and the whole of our multinational motherland.

It is with bitterness and pain that Soviet people have reacted to the tragic events in Baku and other inhabited areas of Azerbaijan, as well as in some areas of Armenia. Blood has been shed. Excesses and pogroms have caused loss of life. Military installations and Internal Affairs institutions are being attacked; weapons and ammunition are being seized. Groups of fighters are being formed in both republics. The holy of holies, the state border of the USSR, is being violated.

The irresponsible, criminal acts of extremist forces and the instances of cruel violence and vandalism are giving rise to justified anger and indignation within the country and to a feeling of profound sympathy for the innocent victims. In the conflict that has flared up, the first to suffer are the children, the women, and the elderly. Your sons are dying. The children of other peoples within the country are falling victim, too; they are the servicemen and personnel of law enforcement bodies.

Enormous damage is being inflicted on the national economy. The very spirit of mutual understanding and cooperation, the moral foundation of the family of the Soviet peoples, is suffering an irreparable loss. Things cannot continue this way. It us necessary to stop, at whatever cost, the wave of enmity, arbitrariness, and violence. Crimes may not be committed without punishment. Sorrow and misery are being sown on our land. No one has the right to manipulate national feelings or to incite people to blind hatred and folly.

If today's tragedy is not halted, it may tomorrow turn into a national tragedy. The Soviet people have reacted with understanding to the decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on the declaration of a state of emergency in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and several other areas in Azerbaijan, and also Armenia. They regard it as a forced but fully justified step and demand from us the most decisive actions. All the necessary measures will be taken.

The CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the Council of Ministers urge all of you, Azeris and Armenians, men and women, white-haired elders and young people, to heed the voice of reason, to rein in the extremists, to expose the instigators, to stop the men of violence, and to make those who have been deceived understand.

We urge you to support the efforts of the country's leadership, law enforcement agencies, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and Soviet Army troops, and frontier forces to restore peace and law and order.

[Signed] CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the USSR Council of Ministers

Text of Leadership Regrets

PM1801125390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Jan 90 Second Edition p 1

[Undated, unaddressed CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and USSR Council of Ministers message of condolence]

[Text] In recent days tragic events which have caused Soviet people acute pain have taken place in Baku, a number of other Azerbaijani population centers, and certain Armenian regions. Blood has been shed and there have been fatalities among Armenians, Azerbaijanis, and other nationalities.

We express our deep condolences to the bereaved families and our sincere sympathy to all who have suffered.

The country's leadership shares Soviet people's anger and indignation at the excesses and the crimes, and it is taking the necessary measures to halt the violence decisively, to restore law and order, to provide material assistance to the victims, and to strictly punish the guilty parties.

Yazov on Calling Reservists for Transcaucasus Duty

LD1801161790 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1528 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, 18 Jan (TASS)—"The introduction of a state of emergency in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] and the adjoining territories will promote the stabilization of the situation in that region," Army General Dmitriy Yazov, USSR minister of defense, stated today. In an interview to a TASS correspondent, he said that in connection with this, a decision has been adopted to call up a certain number of reservists in order for them to be able to participate in maintaining the state of emergency which has been declared and, perhaps, the curfew in a number of towns and settlements.

According to the minister of defense, at the present moment it is not possible without the troops of the Minisry of Internal Affairs and the Soviet Army to implement the state of emergency which has been introduced in these areas. The general explained the drafting of former servicemen from the reserve by the need to keep up a guard on roads and certain sites, to ensure the functioning of the railways, order at the state border, and the safety of the population.

"Those who are now being drafted for a certain period will undoubtedly correctly understand the tasks set before them," Dmitriy Yazov said. He added that, as a rule, it is those young men who have recently completed their term of service and who are not tied down by families who are called up from the reserve. Their drafting, the minister said, has been occasioned by the fact that there is an insufficient number of Internal Affairs Ministry Troops, since the territory on which the situation has become exacerbated is too large.

"Once order has been restored to the region, these soldiers will naturally be discharged and returned to ther homes, and the maintenance of order will be provided for by bodies of the Internal Affairs Ministry," the USSR defense minister stressed.

Primakov Addresses Baku Rally, Stresses Restraint

LD1801172890 Moscow TASS in English 1713 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Text] Baku January 18 AZERINFORM-TASS—The situation in the Azerbaijani capital Baku remains complicated and extremely tense.

Transportation along main streets remains blocked. City traffic is disrupted and several enterprises are working below capacity.

Yevgeniy Primakov, chairman of one of the two houses of the Soviet parliament, accompanied by Soviet Communist Party Central Committee Secretary Andrey Girenko and Azerbaijani Communist Party chief Abdul-Rakhman Vezirov met representatives of the public.

It was stressed during the meeting that everything must be done to secure tranquility and order in the city and not to give in to provocations.

Primakov, who is also an alternate member of the Soviet Communist Party's Central Committee, addressed a mass rally in front of the Azerbaijani Communist Party's Central Committee headquarters.

He stressed the need to normalise the situation in Baku and prevent unlawful actions.

Primakov described measures undertaken to ensure the safety of the population and unconditional compliance with the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium's resolution on Nagorno-Karabakh.

The Presidium of the Azerbaijani Supreme Soviet called on Baku residents to display wisdom and restraint and prevent emotions from eclipsing the mind.

Rally Scene Described

PM1801212490 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 19 Jan 90 p 1

["Own information" report under general heading "Transcaucasus, 18 January": "Baku"]

[Text] The morning of 18 January in Baku began with about 1,000 people marching through the city center with tricolor banners, chanting: "Azadlyg!"—"freedom." They were joined by passers-by, and by 1300 about 10,000 people had gathered outside the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee building. The

demonstrators' demands were—do not impose a curfew in the city, send away from Baku the internal troops and Soviet Army subunits that arrived the day before, and convene a session of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet by 1800.

All approaches and roads to Baku are blocked by people and motor vehicles—with the aim of preventing the troops from approaching. In the city, the Salyanskiye Barracks, where Soviet Army units and combat hardware are stationed, are blockaded.

The rally was addressed by Muslim Mamedov, first secretary of Baku City party committee. He promised that if the situation in Baku stabilizes, a curfew will not be imposed. The people are opposed to the curfew and the bringing in of troops, I heard at the rally, because these measures serve to protect the existing order. The atmosphere in the city is becoming more heated every hour. People are asking why a state of emergency is not being imposed in Kafanskiy, Artashatskiy, Araratskiy, and Megrinskiy Rayons and other Armenian rayons bordering on Azerbaijan. After all, they think, it is from there that combatants are penetrating Azerbaijani territory.

In Baku, more and more people are gathering outside the Party Central Committee building. Unless the masses calm down, unpredictable events could occur in the very near future.

Participants Criticize Media Coverage

LD1801211890 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1935 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Text] Baku, 18 Jan (AZERINFORM-TASS)—A nonstop mass rally has been taking place since this morning outside the building of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan. Speakers are going up onto the improvised rostrum one after the other. The inhabitants of the republican capital are discussing the cases of outrages and violence and are demanding replies to the most urgent questions. When will Azerbaijan's sovereignty be restored over the whole of its territory, including Nagorno-Karabakh? When will the attacks by armed extremists on Azerbaijani villages cease?

Many complaints are being made against the mass media including the central newspapers. The rally's participants believe that they are reporting only part of the truth, providing disinformation to their readers and creating one-sided public opinion. Thus, the press discusses the blockade of Armenia being carried out by Azerbaijan, but virtually nowhere, apart from in the local press, is it reported that the movement of trains was halted from 12 January on the section of the Azerbaijan railroad passing through the territory of Megrinskiy rayon in the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic. Here a train en route for Nakhichevan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic [ASSR] was fired upon and halted. Senior Lieutenant Cheshko, who was accompanying the train, was severely beaten up by Armenian guerrillas. According to transport workers and the transport militia, many tunnels on this section of the line have been blocked using rocks. However, it is a fact that trains travel via this section not only to Nakhichevan ASSR but also to Armenia. About 7,500 cars with freight for the neighboring republic have accumulated on the Azerbaijan railroad. Even today on this section near the station of Megri there was an armed attack on an internal troops' post, four servicemen were wounded.

The situation in the republican capital remains complicated. Up to today 53 people have been killed and 71 wounded; over 200 pogroms have been carried out in apartments. True, the law enforcement bodies together with informal organizations have managed to stop the dangerous development of events. No such crimes on an interethnic basis have been registered today. Over 10,000 Armenians have been evacuated from the city in an organized manner.

The situation in the rayons of Azerbaijan is no less complicated. Armed clashes are continuing between guerrillas from both sides. The clashes are particularly fierce in Nakhichevan ASSR, in Khanlarskiy and Shaumyanovskiy rayons. Near Gyandzha armed extremists sent in from Armenia are blocking the roads leading to Azerbaijani villages in the mountains. A group which landed by helicopter today seized the village of Mikhaylovka in Khanlarskiy Rayon by armed force and demanded that its inhabitants leave it. Provocative attacks are continuing in regions of Azerbaijan bordering on Armenia. Thus, a group of guerrillas from Armenia, using armoured transport and automatic weapons subjected the village of Kerki in Ilyichevskiy rayon to intensive fire. This Azerbaijani village is in Nakhichevan ASSR but is virtually surrounded on all sides by Armenian territory. Taking account of its vulnerable geographic position, its inhabitants were evacuated in good time. Internal Affairs troops are defending it.

Today in Baku and throughout the republic the appeal to display wisdom and restraint and not to allow emotions to overshadow reason resounds with particular force.

More on NKAO, Armenia Interethnic 'Clashes'

LD1801145990 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1030 GMT 18 Jan 90

["On the situation in Azerbaijan and Armenia; (Including Latest Information of USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs)"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 18 Jan—A TASS special correspondent reports:

The situation in Azerbaijan and Armenia, where interethnic clashes are taking place, remains tense.

As a TASS correspondent was informed today at the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, since 11 January this year, a total of 66 people have died and 220 people have received bodily injuries, including 6 militia workers and

31 servicemen of the internal troops of the USSR MVD. During this period, over 200 pogroms and cases of arson have been registered. There have been 66 attacks on buildings where weapons are stored, including on USSR Internal Affairs departments. Over 100 people have been detained for participating in the disturbances.

In Baku over the past 24 hours, 26 active participants in crimes have been identified and detained, and 4,658 persons of Armenian nationality, mainly children, women, and elderly people, have been evacuated. During the last 24 hours, extremists and hooligan elements have been provoking the population, continuing to make attempts at heightening tension, carrying out acts of violence and robbery, and countering measures being implemented to stabilize the situation. These actions have been accompanied both by threats and by the direct use of weapons.

Yesterday a detachment of some 3,000 Armenian "militants" using armored cars and other machines, surrounded and fired on the village of Kerki (Nakhichevan ASSR) where there were 30 inhabitants of Azerbaijani nationality and at a group of servicemen who had arrived there to protect them. No one was injured. Measures are being taken to stabilize the situation.

Attempts were made to frustrate the restationing of internal services troops along the railway at the stations of Udzhari and Khachmas in Azerbaijan. In a number of areas in the republic the roads have been blocked.

The state of the Azerbaijani railway this morning was that 136 goods trains were standing idle, including 106 for Armenia.

As a result of explosions on the water pipes in the Shusha and Askeran Rayons of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblasts, [NKAD] the water supply has been reduced by two-thirds.

Repair work is being carried out in Stepanakert, the administrative centre of Nagorno-Karabakh.

The situation in Armenia remains tense, too. Thefts and seizures of weapons, ammunition, and machines by groups of armed individuals are continuing, although the number of crimes of this type has sharply decreased owing to the measures undertaken.

In keeping with the decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet on the declaration of a state of emergency in a number of regions of Azerbaijan and Armenia, the forces of law and order, with the help of the subunits of the internal forces troops, units of the Soviet Army, and the USSR State Security Committee, are taking measures to put a stop to the excesses, to restore order, and to ensure the safety of the republic's residents.

'Azerbaijan People's Front' Ignores Appeals

LD1901092390 Moscow TASS in English 0915 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 19 TASS—By TASS correspondents:

Today's newspapers report on the tense situation in Soviet Transcaucasia.

The Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the USSR have issued an appeal to the peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia, stressing the need to stem the cause of what is making the wave of hostility, arbitrariness and violence in these republics. The appeal urges them to support the efforts exerted by the country's leadership to restore peace and order.

The situation in Azerbaijan and Armenia has aggravated during the past 24 hours. The leaders of the "Azerbaijan People's Front" ignore the appeals of the central and republican leadership to stop its unlawful actions and seek a way out of the conflict. Seizure of armaments and even military hardware have been reported from Armenia again. Groups of local militants continue to be formed in both republics. There were cases when extremists from both conflicting sides captured hostages from among the civilian population and army personnel. Disorders continue along the state border of the USSR.

According to the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, there are now 24,000 internal troops and militia school cadets in Azerbaijan and Armenia. More than 200 men, making up investigation teams of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, have started work there. They were dispatched to the two republics to investigate the crimes committed there.

Large numbers of local militants are being massed around the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region. Subversive acts staged on Wednesday have left a third of the Stepanakert population without tap water. Several blocks of this administrative centre of Nagorno-Karabakh region have also been left without central heating. Stockpiles of food and fuel are running short in the autonomous region due to the blockade to which it is subjected.

There are roadblocks on the main thoroughfares of Baku. This interferes with the movement of the troops sent there to cut short the disorders. The city transport services and several enterprises have been partially brought to a halt too. There were no grave crimes committed for interethnic reasons during the past 24 hours. More than 10,000 Armenians were evacuated safely from the city. Some 7,500 railway cars with cargoes for Armenia remain immobilised on Azerbaijan railways.

Armenian Refugee Flight from Baku Described

LD1801162590 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0904 GMT 18 Jan 90

[By TASS Correspondent Byashim Valiyev]

[Excerpts] Krasnovodsk, Turkmenia, 18 Jan (TASS)—At first glance the Krasnovodsk maritime harbour is living a normal and measured life; ferries and diesel electric ships which have come from Baku are being unloaded at moorings. But this is a superficial impression. More than 7,000 Armenians have come here in the last few days from Baku, escaping pogroms. [passage omitted]

The ferry "Sovetskaya Kalmykia" has just moored. On board are about 700 Armenians. Pain and bitterness are in the faces of these people, the majority of them old men, women and children. [passage omitted]

"In Baku law and order forces together with representatives of the public helped to ensure the reception of the refugees aboard the ship," says the ferry captain, Mukhtar Akhundov. "Fourteen hours it took us to reach the Turkmen shore. Many members of the crew could not sleep. They did not feel like it. In order to fit the refugees in, the seamen offered them their own cabins, and the music room and other rooms on the ferry were also used. On the way the people were fed and warm clothing was provided for those in need."

The people arriving on the ferries are heading for the maritime station premises, to a table where a small board with the inscription "registration" is placed. Here representatives of the authorities are handing out to them travel documents for buses, planes, and trains. Inside the railway station building free food stations are working round the clock and medical staff have set up their mobile polyclinics.

"For 3 days and nights now local soviet and party bodies and economic leaders have been acting out of charity," says Yuriy Startsev, deputy mayor of Krasnovodsk. "The public is doing everything to reduce tension, to reassure the refugees. A collection of money and warm things has been organized for them."

Night is falling on the town. The ferry crossing is quieting down for a while. It will soon come back to life; the arrival of a regular ferry from Baku is expected today.

Refugees Arrive in Moscow

LD1801171590 Moscow TASS in English 1625 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 18 TASS—By TASS special correspondent:

The permanent mission of the Armenian Republic at the Soviet Council of Ministers, located in an old building in the centre of Moscow, looks like a disturbed beehive. The building is crowded with hundreds of people whose eyes are full of anxiety. These people are refugees who escaped pogroms in Baku. Not all of them are Armenians. Some are Russians from mixed families.

"About 3,000 refugees arrived in Moscow in the past two days. many of those who managed to escape pogroms went to Armenia where assistance is rendered to them. They are provided with food and temporary shelter. We are doing all we can for those who came to Moscow. We arranged with city authorities for the accomodation of refugees in sanatoria and guest houses of the Moscow Region. Some of the refugees, mostly families with children, are accomodates in hotels", Eduard Aikazyan, Armenia's permanent representative in Moscow, told TASS.

"Urgent measures to help those who were forced to leave Azerbaijan as a result of aggravated inter-ethnic relations were outlined in a resolution adopted yesterday by the Soviet Council of Ministers", he continued. It envisages, among other things, the payment of one-time allowance and the purchasing of warm clothes, footwear and essentials for refugees.

Muscovites are helping the Armenian mission. They bring food, warm clothes, offer money and try to cheer up the refugees with friendly words. One can see from the window of Aikazyan's office the buses that come one after another to take refugees to their temporary housing.

Frequent Transport, Power Stoppages in Yerevan

LD1801140290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Text] This report is from Yerevan. The rhythm of life of the capital of Armenia is no different from usual. However, the echo of the alarming events in the rayons bordering on Azerbayjan is obviously felt in the city. Stoppages of transport, electricity, and heat supply have become more frequent. One can literally count the number of days of the remaining fuel supply, and there have been no supplies along the Azerbaijan railroad for so many days now. Well, here is the latest news. The Kanaker alumimium plant has stopped. There is no fuel for such power-hungry plants that the country needs so much.

Now, the hottest spot is the airport, Zvartnots. Apart from passengers waiting for flights delayed by the fuel shortage, refugees from Baku are temporarily located here. Over 4,000 victims have already arrived. They have to be received, given aid, and their further fate decided.

As you can see, the problems are very serious. A great deal is being done by party and local soviet bodies to remove the tension. Open talks are being held in work collectives to explain the decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet on the introduction of a state of emergency in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and in other regions, and people relate sympathetically to that document.

Unregistered Groups in NKAO Disbanded

LD1801194990 Moscow TASS in English 1933 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Text] Stepanakert January 18 TASS—By TASS special correspondent:

For many people in the administrative centre of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region the day began with queuing up for water as a third of Stepanakert was left without water following acts of sabotage on Wednesday.

Heat is not supplied to houses in several districts. Due to the continued blockade of the region, stocks of food and fuel are very limited.

A curfew has been extended for two hours in connection with the imposition of the state of emergency.

In an appearance on regional television tonight, the region's military commandant, Major-General Yuri Kosolapov, announced the disbandment of unregistered informal organisations in keeping with the January 15, 1990 decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet's presidium.

The commandant expressed hope that the population will understand the imposition of the state of emergency which he described as a tough measure.

Kosolapov said that Interior Ministry and regular Army troops count on public assistance in their efforts to normalise the situation.

The situation in Nagorno-Karabakh remains explosive. Reports from outside the region give rise to great anxiety among the locals.

According to eye witnesses, a great number of armed militants keep arriving in areas adjoining the autonomous region. The military commandant's office confirmed this fact.

Interior Ministry and Army units are adopting measures to ensure the safety of the population.

MVD Gives 17 Jan Statistics on Azerbaijan, Armenia

PM1801210090 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 6

["USSR Internal Affairs Ministry Press Center Reports"—IZVESTIYA headline]

[Text] Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR]—On 17 January there were 45 pogroms and arson attacks on apartment blocks in Baku; 26 participants in these actions were caught and detained. In a number of rayons of the republic's capital attempts were made to block the passage of troop columns along the streets, and similar actions were carried out on several highways in Azerbaijan. In the cities of Gyandzha and Kyurdamir the picketing of military airfields continues. In Ilichevskiy Rayon in Nakhichevan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic a group of Armenian fighters blockaded the village of Kerki. On 16 January the Gaybally-Stepanakert water pipeline was damaged, and on 17 January a water pipeline in Askeranskiy Rayon, which also supplies water to the oblast center of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, was also damaged. Water supplies to Stepanakert were cut by almost half. Freight is still not reaching Stepanakert railroad station. In the last 24 hours 4,658 citizens of Armenian nationality were evacuated from Baku by all forms of transport.

In Baku rallies were held outside the buildings of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee and the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium; the participants were protesting the imposition of the state of emergency. Similar rallies took place in Nakhichevan, Dzhebrail, and Zangelan. During the mass disturbances in the republic a total of 66 people have been killed and 220 injured, and the total number of pogroms and arson attacks is 210.

Armenian SSR—In the last 24 hours thefts and seizures of weapons, ammunition, and military hardware continued. On 17 January there were 27 such attacks, as a result of which 198 weapons were seized. Six attacks on internal affairs subunits were recorded, three of which were rebuffed. Four infantry combat vehicles, two ZIL-130 trucks, two UAZ-469's, two GAZ-53's, and one GAZ-69 were stolen from the training ground of Yerevan State University military faculty. A defective T-34 tank was stolen from the training center of the Armenian Agricultural Institute in Echmiadzinskiy Rayon.

In recent days there have been 66 armed attacks on facilities in Armenia.

Trains are still not passing through Idzhevan and Norashen stations. Some 106 trains carrying freight for Armenia are held up on the Azerbaijani Railroad. Only six trains came into the republic on 17 January, via Sadakhlo station.

In Yerevan's Theater Square there was a rally where participants discussed questions of making provision for refugees, the need to ban sales of alcoholic beverages, and the provision of assistance to public order protection organs.

Situation in Azerbaijan

LD1801114290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1030 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Text] The USSR Internal Affairs Ministry press service reports from Baku:

The situation in the republic remains very complex and tense. No surface public transportation has been operating in the Azerbaijani capital since this morning and 95 participants in pogroms and other acts of violence have been identified and detained by the internal affairs bodies. During the past 24 hours 4,658 Armenians have been evacuated, and in all, since the events started, 10,555 have been evacuated.

Mass demonstrations continue. Yesterday in Baku, in front of the Supreme Soviet Presidium building and the republican Communist Party Central Committee, rallies were held at which dissatisfaction was expressed at the imposition of the state of emergency. Similar rallies were also held in Nakhichevan, Dzhebrail, and Zangelan. Barriers were set up in several areas of Baku city and the movement of military convoys was blocked. Trains carrying military personnel were halted at Udzhary and Khachmaz railway stations. An acute situation with possible clashes continues in Khanlar and Shaumyanovsk rural Rayon.

Provocative sorties continue in the regions bordering Armenia and in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. A group of Armenian guerillas, using armored personnel carriers and other vehicles and automatic weapons subjected the village of (Kerti) in (Ilyichevsk) Rayon to intensive shelling. At present the village is completely blockaded, with 3,000 guerillas closed in on it.

At the Megri (Armenian SSR) train station on the Azerbaijani Railroad, an armed attack was carried out by Armenians on an international affairs troop post. Four servicemen were wounded, and an automatic rifle was taken from one of them.

On 16 January, at 1230, hrs, a VAZ-2102 vehicle belonging to Merzovil, an inhabitant of the village of (Gusulu), Agdzhabedi Rayon, was halted by a frontline detail of troops at checkpoint 36. Four other people from the same village were travelling with him. On inspection, four hunting rifles and 29 cartridges were discovered and confiscated. An investigation is being carried out.

Resolute measures are being taken by bodies of the internal affairs and the internal troops of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, in cooperation with the public, to halt the violence and to prevent weapons getting into the hands of criminal elements, and to impose the necessary public order in the towns and other populated areas of the republic.

Transportation Standstill in Baku

NC1801195190 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1715 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Text] The situation in Baku remains extremely tense. Services at the main transportation stations have been halted. Transportation in the city is at a partial standstill. However, a number of establishments are maintaining a normal work rhythm.

Primakov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, have held talks with the representatives of the people. It was noted that all opportunities must be used to establish peace and law and order in Baku and to avoid being carried away by (?rumors).

Comrade Primakov addressed a determined [iddiali] meeting held in front of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee building in Baku. Attention was focused on the need to normalize the situation in the city and prevent (?loss of life in the republic).

The Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet Presidium has appealed to the people of Baku to act with understanding and [word indistinct] and to resist [words indistinct].

24,000 MVD Troops Deployed

LD1801201290 Moscow TASS in English 1955 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 18 TASS—A total of 24,000 Interior Ministry troops and militia (police) cadets are currently deployed in Azerbaijan and Armenia, a spokesman for the Soviet Interior Ministry told TASS today.

More than 200 people have formed task groups assigned by the Interior Ministry to investigate crimes committed in the two neighbouring republics.

According to the Interior Ministry, law-enforcement bodies, aided by Interior Ministry, State Security Committee (KGB) and regular Army units, continued efforts on January 18 to restore control over the situation and end the disturbances in Azerbaijan and Armenia.

As a result of their activity, the number of thefts and seizures of weapons, munition and military equipment by armed groups has dropped sharply.

Twenty-six active participants in anti-Armenian pogroms were detained in Baku during the past day.

Despite all the measures, however, extremists and hooligans continue to provoke the population and do not abandon attempts to heighten tension and prevent the stabilisation of the situation by staging terrorist acts, progroms and robberies.

Roads are blocked to hinder the movement of interior ministry troops. There are pickets around air-fields.

Three trainloads of Interior Ministry hardware have been stopped.

Servicemen are subjected to threats and insults.

In the town of Massaly, a group of hoodlums kept the building of the district police department under siege for two hours and demanded that the police authorities gave up power.

In Baku, extremists blocked many enterprises. City traffic is at a standstill.

A number of populated localities inside Azerbaijan are periodically subjected to fire from Armenian territory.

MVD General on Militants

LD1801200190 Moscow TASS in English 1934 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 18 TASS—So-called militants are reported to have appeared in the guise of servicemen of the Interior Ministry troops—a century-old trick, Deputy Chief of the Political Directorate of the Soviet Interior Ministry General Yevgeniy Nechayev told TASS.

"The military uniform is not only used as disguise to reach dirty goals in the struggle with the opposing side. There is a political meaning to it—they obviously intend to compromise soldiers wearing the BB [Russian abbreviation for interior troops] insignia on their shoulder straps, who arrived in the Caucasian republics on a rescue mission—to ensure safety of the population. The legal aspect of the matter must not be overlooked either: There is a state act that prohibits unauthorised people from wearing of the military uniform."

Open threats to and insults of the servicemen and members of their families and declarations that servicemen involved in peace- keeping operations are enemies of one or the other people are voiced at rallies.

All these are indications of a thoroughly planned large-scale action by the leaders of extremist unofficial organisations and associations. The threats are matched with actions—there are casualties, numerous soldiers and officers have been wounded or injured. Damage has been done to vehicles and military equipment.

"The militants include some former "Afghan servicemen", Soviet military who went through hostilities in Afghanistan," the general said. "I would like to appeal to those who have seen death and despondency, suffered pain and the loss of comrades-in-arms: Stop you, who learned what fraternity born in combat means, should allow no violence, no spilling of innocent blood and no new thousands of refugees. This twice. You are the people who can help Interior Ministry troops and law-enforcement forces to put an end to the bloodbath. Too much is at stake today. Today it depends on you to make the morrow quiet and peaceful."

Bakatin Assesses Transcaucasus 'Civil War'

PM1801142590 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 18 Jan 90 p1

[Telephone interview with V.V. Bakatin, USSR minister of internal affairs, by O. Dmitriyeva under the rubric "Direct Line": "Reason Is Our Strength"—date not given; first two paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] Alarming events in the Transcaucasus. KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA has received dozens of telephone calls from people wanting to know what is happening there. We contacted V.V. Bakatin, USSR minister of internal affairs, by telephone. Our conversation was limited to just 8 minutes. This was understandable: There is a state of emergency in Azerbaijan. Every minute counts. We switched on the tape recorder....

At the end of our conversation, conducted at a sprinter's pace, the minister remarked that it had been a kind of break for him, some breathing space between the long hours of brainstorming now being undertaken by the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry [MVD] in an attempt to eliminate the extreme tension.

[Dmitriyeva] Vadim Viktorovich, the latest reports from the zones—they cannot now be called anything other than combat operation zones—give the numbers and calibers of the weapons which the guerrillas have at their disposal. To be perfectly honest, this has shocked the inertia of ordinary citizens' peacetime thinking. People are beginning to speculate about some direct channel through which arms and ammunition are being leaked to the extremists.

[Bakatin] There is as yet not even any indirect evidence to support this conjecture and so I can neither confirm nor deny it. I will just say that there is some well organized, very active work going on to seize weapons from the authorities, using the most ingenious methods.

Unfortunately, only a few servicemen and guards have resisted attempts to seize their weapons from them. Although, contrary to rumors that they have given up their arms without any fight at all, there are some injured personnel among those disarmed in this way. I must say that in the last 24 hours the guerrillas have managed to seize far fewer weapons.

[Dmitriyeva] Is a curfew going to be imposed in Baku in the light of the extremely tense situation in the city?

[Bakatin] That is not the responsibility of my department. Point 7 of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree on announcing a state of emergency directly states that the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium is instructed to take every measure necessary, including the introduction of a curfew.

As always, the priority of decisions is the responsibility of soviet power.

[Dmitriyeva] The USSR MVD is now concentrating all its forces on hotbeds of tension. That is logical and, we hope, is properly understood by everyone. However, judging by the telegrams and telephone calls to the editorial office, the population is becoming increasingly alarmed that the front of the battle against crime in the country will be left exposed as a result.

[Bakatin] It will be left exposed, and I can offer no consolation in this respect. We have indeed mobilized all forces in the regions where there is a state of emergency.

Several hundred investigators and members of the criminal investigation department and other operations services have also been transferred to these regions. Naturally, this is diverting us from the battle—please excuse the bitter irony—against crime at home.

We have already received Army backup and are awaiting further reinforcements, but the diversion of forces demanded of us by the civil war that has broken out between Azerbaijan and Armenia is having and will continue to have the most serious consequences for all of us.

I would again like to urge everyone, including the mass media, to be guided solely by reason in any actions and comments.

I also appeal for reason from everyone whose eyes are now filled with hatred. Stop and think: There is no other way out. The alternative—let us call a spade a spade—is war.

Azeri People's Front Ignores Leadership Appeal

LD1801193590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 18 Jan 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] We have just received another report. In the past 24 hours the situation in the Azerbaijan and Armenian Soviet Socialist Republics has become more acute. The leaders of the People's Front of Azerbaijan are ignoring the appeal from the leadership of the country and the republic and the Soviet public to put an end to illegal actions and to seek a way out of the conflict.

In Armenia there are continuing cases of weapons and even military equipment seizures. In both republics groups of guerrillas continue forming. There are cases of extremists from the conflicting sides seizing hostages from among civilians and servicemen. Outrages on the USSR's state border are unceasing.

In whipping up psychosis and hysteria among the residents of Azerbaijan and in obstructing the implementation of measures to normalize the situation, the inciters and organizers of the disorders do not even stop short of direct threats of revenge against citizens who do not agree with them and threats of meting out physical punishment on their families. The military unit commanders are being given ultimatums to hand over weapons and ammunition.

Alongside nationalist slogans and appeals, the religious feelings of believers are being unscrupulously played upon. The Soviet public is expressing deep alarm at the development of events in the two neighboring republics. There is a growing stream of demands to the law enforcement bodies and the Ministry of Defense stabilize the situation in the region. Taking this into account, on instructions from the leading bodies, the necessary measures are being taken to stop the escalation of violence, to protect people's lives, and to restore law and order.

Azeri Official on Reasons for Baku Disturbances

LD1801135990 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1250 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, 18 Jan—A TASS special correspondent reports:

The public of Azerbaijan and all people of good sense in the republic express their deep regret over the disturbances in Baku and grieve with the families and near and dear of the dead and injured. This was stated today at a press conference in Moscow by Zaur Rustam-zade, deputy to the permanent representative of Azerbaijan at the USSR Council of Ministers.

Noting that there can be no justification for what has happened, he pointed to a number of factors which, in his view, have led to this extreme situation. Above all, this is the problem of the more than 200,000 Azeri refugees forced during the last year to leave their places of permanent abode in Armenia because of interethnic conflicts.

Azerbaijan, Zaur Rustam-zade said, was faced with a situation in which opportunities had to be found urgently, under the most difficult conditions, for settling and providing work to an enormous number of people, deprived of a home and the means of existence.

In the words of Zaur Rustam-zade, the failure to adopt decisive and opportune measures has led to Azeri villages in Nagorno-Karabakh (NKAO) and neighboring rayons being subjected to terror for 2 years from Armenian guerillas [boyeviki]. Lachin and Khanlar rayons are under constant fire, and there have been attempts to supply arms to the NKAO from Armenia, in particular "ground-to-ground" missiles. During the last month and a half, the waterpipe supplying water to the predominantly Azeri town of Shusha, situated in the NKAO, was blown up. Bridges and roads have been blown up with the aim of cutting off Azeri mountain villages from the outside world, and there have been deaths.

This, said Zaur Rustam-zade, has led to "reciprocal actions" on the part of Azeris. Accusing the Armenian side of attempts to "annex part of the sovereign Republic of Azerbaijan", he described the opperations being conducted as "a war".

During the press conference, the representatives of Azerbaijan opposed the immediate introduction of a curfew in Baku. In his view, this could cause an outburs of negative feelings among the residents of the capital of Azerbaijan and could help to destabilize the situation in the city.

According to information cited 2 days ago by the Armenian permanent mission in Moscow, of the 200,000-strong Armenian population of Baku, now only a few thousand people remain in the Azeri capital. The rest have been forced to leave Baku, fearing their lives.

Baku Provocations Discussed

LD1801190390 Moscow TASS in English 1855 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Text] Baku January 18 TASS—By TASS special correspondent:

According to a report by the Azerbaijani Ministry of Internal Affairs, 95 people have been arrested for participation in Baku pogroms. Most of them are refugees from Armenia.

About 200,000 Azerbaijanis, mostly peasants, had to leave their permanent residences in Armenia this year after the worsening of relations between the two republics over Nagorno-Karabakh. This created a tense situation in Azerbaijan, where the surplus of manpower amounts to 300,000 people.

Plots of land and money from the state budget were given to the refugees to facilitate their settlement in the Republic. However, a major part of them went to Baku.

The Azerbaijan capital, which has no vacant housing or jobs found itself in a difficult situation. Problems were aggravated by the fact that many peasants found it hard to adapt to city life. All this fuelled their feeling of permanent discontent.

The refugees, who had nothing to lose, become leaders of the extremist actions. Criminals took advantage of the situation.

A year ago the republican press called attention to the fact that together with those who really lost homes, some people who moved to Azerbaijan cashed in on other people's suffering.

Pogroms staged recently by criminal elements are usually carried out in the same fashion. The extremists move about the city in small groups in order not to attract the attention of law enforcement units. They break into flats whose owners are not necessarily Armenians, but also Azerbaijanis, Russians or Jews. The militia and Interior Ministry troops do not always manage to get there in time. The roads, by which additional troops were to arrive in Baku, were blocked this morning.

Obedience to NKAO Emergency Decree Urged

PM1901111590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Article by Vladimir Kurasov: "According to Law and Conscience"]

[Text] It would be telling a lie to say that the appearance of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree on declaring a state of emergency in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and some other regions has been welcomed in the same way throughout the country. But we all realize that the Presidium was obliged to undertake this extreme measure to ensure that the crisis situation did not get out of control, did not cross the boundary of reason beyond which there is nothing but an abyss.

The state of emergency was introduced in the interests of our state, in the interests of the entire Soviet people. The Transcaucasus conflict long ago ceased to be a purely regional matter. That is borne out in particular by the editorial mail of recent days.

Letters have come in and are continuing to come in from all corners of the country in which, through their sincere anguish for the fate of their fellow countrymen in Azerbaijan and Armenia, Soviet people appeal directly to the USSR Government and M.S. Gorbachev demanding that immediate action be taken to stabilize the situation in these republics.

It is obvious that the way out of the crisis must be sought in constructive dialogue. But how hard it is to conduct dialogue in an atmosphere of uncontrolled pogroms when tears and blood are being shed and houses destroyed.

The state of emergency is an extreme but necessary step. That is clear to all those who are guided in their actions by the vital interests of the people and not by their own dubious political and other ambitions.

The Supreme Soviet Presidium decree was signed 15 January 1990. It states that it entered into force as of 2300 local time on that same day.

Now just one thing is required of all those to whom the lines of this most extraordinary document are addressed—its unconditional fulfillment. The time for emotions and fruitless talk has passed. The hour of action has come.

Recently, in assessing particular actions of the Western states, we have often cited the democracy and flexibility of their legal institutions. It is obviously worth recalling here that throughout the civilized world the introduction of a state of emergency does not brook differences of interpretation. Unconditional obedience—that is its only reasonable result.

Today anyone who does not obey the demands of the Decree on the state of emergency should know that he is breaking the law, and he will bear responsibility in accordance with the law.

Responsibility before the law, before the Motherland, and before his conscience.

Efforts To Assert Control Described

PM1901113090 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Jan 90 Morning Edition pp 1, 6

[Report by special correspondents V. Litovkin and S. Mostovshchikov: "Baku Days and Nights"]

[Text] Baku, 18 January, by telephone—Baku Commissars Rayon 26 is a central district of the city. It is spread

out along the bay, which is fringed by a lovely maritime boulevard. Nearby are the commercial port and the maritime station. Here too are Government House and Lenin Square, museums, institutes, numerous housing districts, hospitals... In the evenings, along with the militia and internal troops, workers' detachments for voluntary assistance to the militia come out to protect them.

Yashar Atakishiyev is the leader of one of these detachments. He talks about his comrades. Orudzhev is a household equipment repair man, Kasanov a seaman with Kaspmornefteflot, Bayramov is an engineer, Veliyev is a worker at the "Ulduz" plant. The last two are "Afghaners." Their bravery and resolve came in useful only yesterday, when the group, with the help of the militia, detained eight gangsters who attacked an Armenian family's apartment at 37/43 Uzeir Gadzhibekov Street.

"Young lads," Yashar says sorrowfully. "The same age as us..."

In the city there are more and more workers' detachments, as well as militia and internal troops clad in flak jackets and armed with rubber nightsticks. But unfortunately their presence is not in itself lessening the tension as yet. The number of robberies, thefts, and attacks on apartments is not falling. And how can you put a guard on every apartment?! Especially since the tactics of the attacks have changed now. The gangsters operate in small groups. Then arrive at preselected apartment blocks in cars. The thugs "work" quickly and brazenly: They grab everything valuable, and immediately flee. The militia usually arrives at the scene too late, finding only plundered apartments...

The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Council of Ministers have expressed their condolences with the families of those killed. They are being given every assistance.

But in this situation the city's working people should have their say. At a session of the city party committee [gorkom] bureau the leaders of rayon party organizations were sharply criticized for inaction and passivity in the face of violence. There are 140,000 Communists in the capital, and if only one-fourth of them had come to the defense of public order, nothing like this would have happened—this was stated by A.-R.Kh. Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, at a press conference at the Central Committee yesterday.

Certain details of the kidnapping of Agadzhanyan, first secretary of Shaumyanovskiy (rural) rayon party committee, as a hostage have emerged. He was traveling in a car as part of a convoy, and was stopped by picketers. They arrested him for carrying "certain prohibited items." To put it more simply, weapons and ammunition. According to information available at the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, these are now in the hands of the People's Front. A.-R.Kh. Vezirov said that the tactics of hostage-taking cannot be approved.

Answering a question from IZVESTIYA's correspondent at a the news conference as to whether a curfew is to be imposed in Baku, the Central Committee first secretary said that this decision is not within the competence of party organs. However, he went on to note that if it happens, it will only be when all other means have been exhausted.

The situation is complex not only in the capital, but also in the rayons. We have an official announcement to hand. This is what it says: "In accordance with the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree of 15 January this year, the implementation of a number of emergency measures to control the situation and impose law and order continued in a number of rayons of the Azerbaijan SSR and certain adjacent regions of the Armenian SSR on 17 January. In the course of actions by law enforcement organs to stop criminal activities, 31 active participants in raids were detained. A large quantity of weapons and ammunition was confiscated. Criminal cases are being brought on the basis of the crimes committed, and investigations are in progress. The troops of the Transcaucasus Military District have mounted guard on the most important sites on the Azerbaijani and Transcaucasus Railroads. The reinforcement of certain units of the Transcaucasus Military District is continuing, for the protection of citizens and the defense of vitally important facilities."

In Zangelanskiy, Kubatlinskiy, Khanlarskiy, and Lachinskiy Rayons there are shots and blood. People are asking for troops to be sent to protect them, but there are forces that have an interest in whipping up tension and exacerbating the situation—the roads to these rayons are blocked. Trucks carrying servicemen of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs internal troops and the Soviet Army, as well as Armed Forces reservists, are not getting through. They are not given the opportunity to protect the population...

The evacuation of people of Armenian nationality from Baku continues. Ferries designed for 250 people are being loaded with 1,700 each. They make three to five trips a day. More than 5,000 people have already been shipped out. Krasnovodsk cannot take all the people. And the Baku city soviet is giving refugees and people on the waiting list permission to move into the Armenians' abandoned apartments...

We know of many instances of attacks on servicemen. Warrant Officer K. Babayan was killed near his home, there were attacks on the apartment of Warrant Officer S. Akopov and the apartment of Lieutenant Colonel V. Berest... In Gyandzha the military camp is blockaded. The water pipeline has been shut off and extremists have attempted to shut off the gas pipeline too, and to deprive the camp dwellers of electricity. Dump trucks full of cobbles and pipes are blocking the roads to the airport

and toward Baku. Instances of the blockading of military camps in the Azerbaijani capital itself have occurred. As this report is being conveyed to the newspaper, crowds of people, including women and old people, have surrounded the Salyanskiye Barracks and the higher military school, where 130 Armenian families have taken refuge... There are continuing attempts to attack the stockpiles of military units, rayon internal affairs administrations, and republic internal forces... The raiders' aim is still the same—weapons. The military men are showing restraint and tolerance. But there is a limit to everything. Perhaps that is what the provocateurs are counting on...

Soviet Army agitation departments have begun to operate in the republican capital. A special armored carrier with three loudspeakers on its turret is appearing in the busiest, most crowded places—Neftyanikov Avenue, Lenin Square, Gyandzhlik subway station, the squares in front of the gorkom and Central Committee buildings... In short, wherever the city's inhabitants assemble for rallies and demonstrations.

The loudspeakers carry speeches in Azerbaijani and the announcer reports the latest news on the situation in the city, refutes rumors, and explains the provisions of the state of emergency decree and other government directives. The agitation detachment is led by Senior Lieutenant V. Zalutskiy. He was in Afghanistan and is fluent in Pashto and English. He was awarded the Order of the Red Star and the Afghan medal. But he never thought he would have to go out in the streets and squares of our own cities...

"People listen to our words and our calls for prudence," Vladimir says. "It is only a pity that our efforts are not enough to stabilize the situation."

Article Urges End to Ethnic Violence

PM1701120290 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Yuriy Orlik article: "Stop the Violence!"]

[Text] Reports from Baku and Nagorno-Karabakh are like military dispatches: Additional troops have been brought into the region, military helicopters carrying landing parties have been shelled, a weapons consignment has been impounded, fighters have opened rifle and machinegun fire... And inevitably—war is war—there are dead, wounded, missing in action. Inevitably? Could the violence and death not have been prevented? Are we doomed to suffer new Sumgaits?

I am sure that no national interests can justify killing. No national feelings can sanctify pogroms and carnage. What we are dealing with today has another name—national hysteria, blindness, the sleep of reason, which, as you know, engenders monsters. It has afflicted the intelligentsia too, and has not bypassed the people's deputies.

Today it is clear that in resolving certain interethnic conflicts we have basically found ourselves in a no-win situation. The prolongation of these conflicts entails the risk of consequences that are unpredictable, or rather, all too predictable. In these conditions the formulation of new principles for our state's federal structure and mechanisms for resolving national disagreements and the adoption of appropriate laws by the USSR Supreme Soviet are urgent matters. We see it as the center's task to do this, and not to spend all its time extinguishing increasingly dangerous conflagrations.

I would like to draw attention to another circumstance, too.

Anyone who is following the situation in the Transcaucasus cannot fail to observe that the tragedy that happened in Baku was related to preceding events on the Iranian-Azerbaijani border. The local authorities basically proved powerless to prevent those events—for 10 days the crowd rampaged, destroying and sweeping away border structures.

Let us be frank: The paralysis of local power, the connivance of law enforcement organs, and the ease with which fighters—both Azerbaijani and Armenian—obtain weapons—all this leads to bloody conflicts.

In conclusion I would like to quote a few lines from a letter from Leningrad Professor S. Artanovskiy, who, assessing the degree of "bitterness and tolerance" in our society, writes: "I entirely sympathize with the desire not to add to the violence, of which there is enough already. The great books of the past—the Buddhist Dzhammanada [as transliterated], the Koran, and the Christian Gospels—say that hatred cannot be stopped by hatred, it can only be stopped by love. That is a profound idea... But recently I have felt a growing concern for our country's future. You will agree that the snowballing nationalism, separatism, and anarchistic violence prompt the most serious concern. And in order to prevent bloodshed it is necessary to use all state and legal measures of influence."

One must agree with that. Too much is at stake: the unity of the Union, the fate of perestroyka. And, most importantly—people's lives.

Reporter Gives 'Bitter, Complex' News From Baku

LD1801235290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Report by special correspondent Leonid Lazarevich in Baku]

[Text] [Lazarench] Just yesterday evening I was able to talk about a certain stabilization, albeit very fragile, in the situation in the city. Thanks to the efforts by the militia, the internal troops and the Azerbaijan People's Front, it effectively became possible to end the pogroms. Then a fresh flare-up occurred. A rumor spread round the city that a special situation and a curfew will be

introduced in the city today. Therefore, this morning the main roads in the city were blocked by trailers and with heavy lorries to stop the troops being brought in. Transport was not functioning. Many, many people could not get to work. Generally, the situation has become exceptionally tense again. At this point in time, in my view, calls for maintaining common sense and calm have sounded in a most timely and important way. Leaflets were distributed around the city and its enterprises. They stressed that, under such conditions, providing calm is maintained in the city, no state of emergency will be introduced in the city and there are no plans to introduce one. Yet the situation remains very, very difficult. Here is how Viktor Pavlovich Barannikov, first deputy minister of internal affairs of the republic, described the situation:

[Begin Barannikov recording] I consider it to be a difficult operational situation. We have managed in some definite area to stabilize things—I mean by this the area of crimes—grave crimes and pogroms—and to localize the situation, but the situation remains difficult and explosive as far as law-and-order is concerned. [end recording]

[Lazarevich] Evidently extra troops were required in this situation. It is not for me to judge: specialists have to judge this. At the time that journalists were meeting with Comrade Barannikov, a meeting of many thousands of people was taking place in front of the Central Committee building. Those who assembled said that the People's Front, jointly with the militia and the internal troops who were already concentrated in the city, are ready to participate in the work to uphold and strengthen order in the city. It was said that this can be achieved by joint efforts. I want to draw your attention to the precision of reporter's stories. The report from Yevevan in today's KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA said that the events which took place on the border in Nakhichevan provided the basis for a weapons delivery from Iran. It was officially declared at the press conference today that such cases—cases of arms deliveries—have not been registered. It was declared at the same press conference that the report by the newspaper AZATNIK, the newspaper of the People's Front, about a joint attack on Azerbaijani villages by militants [boyeviki] and soldiers of the Soviet Army was untrue. It was stated that only militants took part in this action: some of them were disguised in servicemen's uniforms. This is the bitter and complex news which I have.

CBS Mum on Source of Transcaucasus Violence Film

PM1901113590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 6

[Report by F. Ivanov: "CBS Is Showing"]

[Text] On 17 January the "Vremya" program showed an item in which we saw for the first time a clash between Azerbaijani and Armenian thugs. We were told at the Central Television main editorial office for information that this video material from the U.S. CBS television company had been received by Soviet television through satellite communication channels.

How was this film shot, and by whom? We asked Joseph Ritchi [surname as transliterated], producer at the CBS Moscow Bureau.

"We are very interested in the development of events in the Transcaucasus," he said. "Every day we include in our news summaries all up to date information from the area. As for the video item you are interested in, I can tell you that we did not shoot this film, we received it privately and, as is the custom, we would be reluctant to name the source."

Situation in NKAO 'Less Complex' 18 Jan

NC1801185890 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1715 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Text] The situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonmous Oblast [NKAO] is relatively less complex than it is in other regions of Azerbaijan. The lawless acts being committed in the NKAO are essentially not quantitatively or qualitatively different from the acts which have been taking place here for the past 1 and ½ years. The Internal Affairs Ministry units are generally controlling the situation. All enterprises, organizations, and institutions in the oblast center and in other regions of NKAO are operating.

The broadcasts of the oblast television, which had been cut off as a result of hostile action by television workers in Shusha, resumed yesterday, 17 January. However, the people of Artsakh [NKAO] are still not receiving Armenian television.

Stepanakert is experiencing some water shortages because, as was already reported, explosions damaged two sectors of a pipe. According to Robert Grigoryan, chief engineer at the local water board, repair work is continuing at a fast pace. Repairs to the Khaybalu sector of the pipe will be completed today. This sector is important because it provides drinking water to one-third of the city.

[Name indistinct] Bagdasaryan and Vasily Alagverdyan, residents of Harav village in Askeranskiy Rayon, have disappeared. They had gone to the [name indistinct] village in Martuninskiy Rayon by car. According to information available at the NKAO Internal Affairs Department, they were kidnapped by members of the Azerbaijan People's Front and are now in Agdam town. The Askeranskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Department is searching for the hostages.

There have been no reports about the fate of a number of leaders of Shaumyanovskiy Rayon who were kidnapped by exteremist Azeris.

Undoubtedly, the introduction of the state of emergency is affecting the lives and feelings of the people. The people of Artskah have in general reconciled themselves to the situation. However, the new conditions require

that the peaceful citizens and servicemen show greater mutual understanding and mutual respect because the nerves of many are very strained and any careless and unconsidered step by any side, particularly any action which touches on the dignity of the citizens, could have undesirable consequences. This should not be forgotten.

Committee Member Reviews Situation

NC1801154590 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1300 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Report by Khrayr Chamchyan—recorded]

[Text] [Chamchyan] As you already know from the press and our broadcasts, news is being received around the clock from the Armenian regions of Azerbaijan as well as from various enterprises and organizations in the republic by telephone and radio links at the operational committee of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the republic's Council of Ministers. The committee then takes the necessary action.

Unfortunately, neither Yerevan nor Stepanakert has any channels of communication with Mardakertskiy and Hadritskiy Rayons in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]. The republican operational committee has instructed the Armenian Communications Ministry to establish radio links with these settlements as a matter of urgency.

At 1500 today I visited the republican operational committee and asked Suren Avedisyan, a member of the committee and deputy chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium, to briefly inform our listeners about the prevailing situation in the republic.

[Avedisyan] The situation in the NKAO and in the Armenian villages of Shaumyanovskiy Rayon and Getashen Subrayon is being supervised by army units. The main problem facing the committee is receiving and settling those who were forcibly uprooted from Baku and other regions. There are now more than 4,000 refugees in Yerevan, while 5,000 have gathered in the city of Krasnovodsk in the Turkmenian Soviet Socialist Republic. Regrettably, a substantial number of refugees are refusing to go to the dormitories set aside for them in villages in the Sevan basin and to the settlement areas in the Ararat plain. This is creating serious difficulties in view of the fact that the problem of settling the 98,000 refugees who arrived earlier has not yet been solved. The people from Baku must go to their previously assigned settlement areas. Under the conditions prevailing in the republic, any attempts to satisfy preferences about settlement areas or dwellings will make the solution of this problem very difficult. The committee was informed today that the commandant of the Yerevan garrison has decided to provide the two-room houses under the garrison's jurisdiction in Razdanskiy Rayon to the refugees. The first steps in this direction have already been taken.

The fact that some irresponsible persons in Yerevan and elsewhere are exacerbating the already complex situation is giving cause for serious concern. They are applying to enterprises and other organizations, giving this or that instruction to the directors of the enterprises in the name of the operational committee, and often demanding certain (?items) produced at the enterprise and collecting money for the refugees. The committee wishes to announce that all official instructions have been and will continue to be given exclusively through the official information means. Any other directive is illegal and should not be carried out. Any illegal action by an individual, any illegal and unconsidered step, is fraught with serious and dangerous consequences at this time.

The operational committee calls on the population of the republic to assist in preventing individuals from committing illegal acts and to display the (?common sense), sound judgment, wisdom, and high [word indistinct] unique to our people.

As regards people in hospitals, I can say that, according to figures from the Health Ministry, 115 people are receiving the appropriate medical care in Yerevan hospitals. Doctors believe this number will decrease since most sustained only minor injuries and will be discharged after having received the appropriate treatment.

Our pilots continued to work intensively, as they did yesterday. Despite the unfavorable conditions, they transported nearly 4 tonnes of foodstuffs and medicine to Shaumyanov and Hadrut. More than 4.5 tonnes of flour, sugar, meat, and sausage was taken to the Armenian population of Getashen Subrayon. Warm clothing and other goods were taken to Berdadzhor. Nearly 2 tonnes of foodstufs [words indistinct]. This work is continuing.

[Chamchyan] The prevailing tense situation obliges us to unite more closely and become a single fist. We must support Artsakh [NKAO] and our compatriots forcibly uprooted from Azerbaijan.

Armenian Village Attacked From Nakhichevan

NC1801180390 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1700 GMT 18 Jan 90

["New Encroachment, New Victims; Machinegun Fire at Yeraskh"]

[Text] A new and bloody clash took place on the border of the Armenian Republic. A new bandit attack was launched against the town of Yeraskh in Araratskiy Rayon from the nearby village of Sadarak in the Nakhichevan Autonomous Oblast. The invasion was probably organized since the morning. The first shots were directed at industrial enterprises. Two workers at the wine and mineral water bottling factory were wounded. After occupying an overlooking hill, the brigands directed automatic weapons fire at Yeraskh for a

long time. There are dead and wounded. The wounded have been taken to the hospitals in the rayon center, Ararat, and Armashen.

The leadership of the rayon has organized self-defense and has requested the assistance of Internal Affairs Ministry troops.

The firing continued until late at night.

Armenia To Develop Megrinskiy Rayon

NC1801170690 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] Yerevan, 11 Jan (ARMENPRES)—The Armenian Government has adopted a comprehensive decision to develop Megrinskiy Rayon, bolster its economy, and create the material, social, cultural, and living conditions that will promote the labor activity of the rayon's population.

Specific instructions have been given to the various ministeries, supervisory boards, and design and construction organizations in this regard, and timetables have been established for projects which should contribute to the comprehensive solution of the problems affecting all spheres of social activity in the region.

A master plan for the development of Megri city and seven surrounding villages will be drawn up and endorsed by the end of the year. The necessary measures will be taken in 1990-91 to restore the abandoned villages of Vank, Kaler, and Arevik and to build roads which will provide reliable road communication and ensure normal living conditions despite the (?extraordinary) situation.

The issue of expanding Megri city on unproductive surrounding land will be studied.

Urgent and specific measures are envisaged to provide the population of the rayon with foodstuffs and manufactured goods at the levels provided to major cities.

In order to improve the financial situation of local enterprises, the Armenian Council of Ministers has decided to cancel their short-and long-term credit repayments.

It was also decided not to introduce state orders for the sale of agricultural produce of Megrinskiy Rayon.

The Armenian civil aviation department has been instructed to organize as many passenger flights with Mi-8 helicopters to Megri as will satisfy the demands of the population.

Local industries, building materials enterprises, residential houses, hospitals, schools, kindergartens, and a trade center will be built in the rayon. The automobile transportation enterprise and the gas network will be expanded and the water system, telephone services, and so on developed.

The decision also envisages a number of other measures which will contribute to bolstering the rayon's economy and realizing the social development plan.

NKAO Writers Publish Bimonthly Periodical

NC1801193190 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 4 Jan 90

["The First Issue of ARTSAKH Appears"]

[Excerpt] Yerevan 4 Jan (ARMENPRES)—Readers received the first issue of the bimonthly literary-artistic and sociopolitical periodical published by the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast members of the USSR writers union. A periodical with the same name had been published in Shusha 70 years ago, but it was shut down. [passage omitted].

NKAO Commandant on Abolished Artsakh Movement

NC1801193590 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1715 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Text] According to a report we have just received, General [name indistinct], military commandant of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO], announced in a radio and television statement that the Armenian Artsakh Movement—as you know, Artsakh is the name Armenians give to the NKAO—as well as the [word indistinct] Council, the Artsakh Students Union, and other formal and informal organizations operating in the NKAO have been abolished.

News Conference Held at Azerbaijan Central Committee

NC1801193990 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1715 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Text] A news conference was held at the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee today. Viktor (?Baravuchev), first deputy minister of internal affairs of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic, and [name indistinct], deputy chief of the Directorate of Investigations at the USSR Committee for State Security, replied to questions from journalists on the situation in Baku and in the republic.

Foreign Media Reports on NKAO, Armenia Situation

Soviet Authorities Issue Ultimatum

AU1901151890 Paris AFP in English 1443 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, Jan 19 (AFP)—Soviet authorities on Friday issued an ultimatum to Azeri nationalists in Baku, giving them two hours to lift their blockade which is preventing the entry of Soviet troops into the Azerbaijan capital, nationalist sources said.

The Second Secretary of the Communist Party, Viktor Polanichko, had told Elgibar Mamedov, a member of the

National Council for Defence that force would be used if the blockade were not lifted, sources close to the national council said by telephone.

The National Council for Defence was set up recently by the nationalist popular front.

There was no immediate indication of when the ultimatum would expire.

The Army and special interior ministry troops Friday had still not managed to take control of Baku, where local inhabitants blockaded streets on the outskirts of the city, nationalist sources in the town said.

An army detachment Friday fired warning shots to extricate itself from a crowd in Baku which had sought to blockade barracks in the town, according to the government newspaper Izvestia. There were no reports of any casualties.

[Paris AFP in English at 0824 GMT on 18 January carries a Moscow-datelined report noting that "Soviet troops and KGB border guard forces have sealed off the frontier with Turkey and Iran, the Armenian ARMENPRES News Agency reported Thursday. A journalist in Yerevan said by telephone that the border in both Armenia and Azerbaijan had been closed Wednesday."

[FBIS has not observed Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian to carry such a report. A TASS report carried by ARMENPRES International at 1215 GMT on 18 January on the implementation of the 15 January USSR Supreme Soviet decree on Nagorno-Karabakh notes that "The protection of the USSR state border has been strengthened," but does not say that the borders have been closed.]

Thousands Ready To Fight

AU1801210290 Paris AFP in English 1959 GMT 18 Jan 90

[By Stephane Bentura]

[Excerpts] Yerevan, Soviet Union, Jan 18 (AFP)—More than 20,000 Armenian volunteers are ready to go to war to lift a blockade imposed by neighbouring Azerbaijan, nationalist sources said in the Armenian capital Thursday. "Armenia has been under a total blockade for a week and the republic is starting to be short of petrol," said Levon Ter-Petrosian [spelling as received], a spokesman for the Armenian National Movement. "Many factories have stopped work because of electricity shortages," he added.

Reports from Baku, the Azerbaijan capital, said tens of thousands of Azeri nationalists also ready to fight as the Azeri-Armenian civil war escalates had demonstrated outside the communist party's central committee headquarters there. Azeri sources said the Baku protest was sparked by anger at Soviet troops sent in to quell fighting that has raged in the two southern Soviet republics this week, leaving 66 people dead and 220 injured, according to an interior ministry toll. [passage omitted]

Twelve helicopters operated by the national carrier Aeroflot that have supplied the disputed Nagorno-Karabakh enclave with staple foodstuffs and other goods for the past two years were lying idle Thursday because of heavy snow. [passage omitted]

The Armenian National Movement earlier reported that Soviet military reinforcements which have arrived in Getashen and Shimian [spelling as received], two Armenian villages to the north of Nagorno-Karabakh, had offered to evacuate besieged residents. A spokesman for the movement said he feared the Army would try to force Armenians out of the area.

In Yerevan groups of gunmen continued to seize weapons, ammunition and vehicles despite the arrival of Soviet troops, INTERFAX, a Moscow radio news digest, reported. Four armoured personnel carriers and several military vehicles were seized from a testing range belonging to Yerevan University.

At the headquarters of the Armenian National Movement, volunteers who have replaced the Soviet hammer-and-sickle emblem on their uniforms with their republic's national colours were ready to go to war. "There is no other solution than to join Armenian groups of volunteers because what has happened in Romania will happen in Armenia soon," Samvel, a 22-year-old volunteer, said. The nationalist movement seemed to be regrouping into an Armenian national army. [passage omitted]

At a local hospital wounded refugees told of their plight and atrocities committed in Baku.

In Baku, Azeris threw up barricades against Soviet troops attempting to take control of the city Thursday. A huge crowd surrounded paratroopers who landed by helicopter in one of the town's main squares and forced them to take off again, the sources in Baku reached by telephone added. As a general strike paralyzed much of the city, the demonstrators called for the resignation of the republic's communist party leader Abdul-Rakhman Vezirov and denounced calls by Moscow for a curfew in Baku where dozens of Armenians have been massacred.

Protests also erupted in Nakhichevan, Jebrail and Zangelan [last two placenames spelled as received], with Azeris demanding the lifting of the state of emergency in and around the disputed territory of Nagorno-Karabakh, the interior ministry said. In Nagorno-Karabakh itself, armed groups continued to confront each other in the hills, while explosions destroyed water mains supplying Stepanakert, the region's capital.

Armenian Official Warns of 'Extermination'

AU1901111290 Vienna KURIER in German 19 Jan 90 p 3

["Exclusive" interview with Hrair Tamrazean, representative of the Armenian People's Front, by Stefan

Galoppi: "The Armenians Are Threatened With Extermination"—date and place not given]

[Text] KURIER: Is a long civil war imminent in the Caucasus?

Tamrazean: The threshold of civil war has already been crossed. Despite the state of emergency, the Azerbaijanis are attacking our villages by the thousands. The Army is hardly able to reach the war zone; women and children are barring the way of the tanks. However, if the troops fail to act resolutely, a bloodbath is threatening in Karabakh. All Armenians will be expelled from the region. The conflict will not stop at Armenia's borders. The Armenian people are threatened with extermination.

KURIER: What can the West do in this situation?

Tamrazean: The entire civilized world must protest in Moscow. Just as it provided excellent help following the earthquake in 1988, it also must help now in the current political catastrophe.

KURIER: Where do the Azerbaijanis get their heavy weapons from?

Tamrazean: Officially, they were stolen from the Army. Many weapons disappear every year; the soldiers simply sell them. However, I also believe that some sections of the Army collaborate with the Azerbaijanis.

KURIER: What weapons do the Armenians have?

Tamrazean: We are poorly equipped. Following the pogroms in Baku, the Government and the People's Front have formed a joint crisis staff, proclaimed a state of emergency, and ordered the rearmament of the militia. The volunteers who are supposed to prevent new massacres now often have only home-made weapons.

KURIER: You say that Moscow is rather siding with Azerbaijan. Why?

Tamrazean: When the regional committee of Karabakh decided to secede from Azerbaijan and the union with Armenia, the question of a people's right to self-determination came up in the Soviet Union for the first time. Moscow was concerned about Karabakh possibly becoming a model case for other republics. Citing the strong Azerbaijani nationalism was intended to divert attention from the failure to solve the problem. If the Kremlin really wanted to do so, it could keep the extremists under control.

KURIER: However, Azerbaijan also demands sovereignty.

Tamrazean: They never demanded secession from the USSR. Armenia, on the other hand, will no longer form part of the USSR in 10 years.

'Open Civil War' Seen

LD1901082890 Hamburg DPA in German 0744 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow (DPA)—Open civil war has broken out in the Caucasus. For the first time, armed Azerbaijanis have attacked a settlement in the area of the neighboring republic of Armenia. "There are two dead and numerous injured," an employee of the Armenian news agency ARMENPRESS reported on the telephone to the German press agency (DPA). Mobilization has been announced for the whole of Armenia.

The journalist stated that "numerous attacks against Armenians in Azerbaijan" has now developed into "an open war against our republic." Azerbaijanis crossed the border to Armenia from the enclave of Nakhichevan and attacked the village of Yerask with machineguns.

"The Armenian people decided on account of the hesitant attitude in Moscow headquarters to take the destiny of the republic into its own hands," it said in a statement from ARMENPRESS. Armenia has been declared a "fortress." Self-defence committees are being formed in the entire Soviet republic for a citizens defense force and combat groups in the industrial enterprises. "Many thousands of schoolchildren and students have registered voluntarily," the employee of the Armenian agency stressed.

Azeri Officials Blame Armenia, Moscow

LD1801120590 Kuwait KUNA in English 1055 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, Jan 18 (KUNA)—Two Azerbaijani officials have expressed reservation over the Kremlin's resolution on imposing a curfew on Baku, Azerbaijan's capital.

Rustum Zadah, vice president of Azerbaijan's representation in Moscow, said that a curfew in Baku must be accompanied by a similar measure in Armenia's capital Yerevan.

Replying to a KUNA question at a press conference here today, Rustum Zadah indicated that official and unofficial popular commissions are in full control of the situation in Baku, making a curfew unnecessary.

For his part, representative of the Azerbaijani Popular Front affirmed that a curfew in Baku under such circumstances "only adds fuel to the flames and further complicates the present situation there."

Zuhrab Shamkhalov denied that his front has its eyes on overthrowing the Soviet authority in Azerbaijan, affirming that the front's program calls for realizing the republic's political and economic independence, within the borders of the Soviet Union.

The two Azerbaijani officials held the Armenian Government responsible for the tragic situation in the Transcaucases region, stressing that Armenian fanaticism caused the recent bloody unrest in their homeland.

Rustum Zadah and Shamkhalov reviewed the miserable and difficult conditions under which hundreds of thousands of Azerbaijani refugees fleeing Armenia live, urging for a prompt solution to the problem. In this respect, Zadah lashed out at Moscow for providing no financial allocations to resolve the refugees problems. He also criticized the Soviet media for presenting a subjective picture of the events in Armenia and Azerbaijan, saying that they were bias in favor of the Armenians.

Shamkhalov regarded the rumors on the ethnic and religious nature of the events between the two republics as a "cheap contradiction" meant to instigate tensions between the Christian community and the predominant [words indistinct] Azerbaijan.

Zadah stressed on achieving conciliation between the Azerbaijani and Armenian people through dialogue, indicating that a state of emergency may stop the bloodshed, but is not enough to resolve the conflict.

Azerbaijan's Mutalibov Interviewed on Incidents

NC1801181790 Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 11 Jan 90 p 13

[Interview with Ayaz Mutalibov, chairman of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic Council of Ministers Presidium, by MILLIYET correspondent Nilufer Yalcin in Ankara; date not given]

[Text] [Yalcin] Very serious incidents have been taking place between Azerbaijan and Armenia for the past 2 or 3 years. What do the Armenians wish to achieve? Do they dream about creating a greater Armenia or do they just want to maintain a hostile stand against the Turks?

[Mutalibov] There are various reasons, many of them historical, for the recent incidents between the Azerbaijani and Armenian Republics. Most center on territorial questions. These matter have resurfaced because of the policy of perestroyka. The Armenian side has created the problems. The reason these problems have now become widespread is the restructuring, equality, and democratization policy in the country. The policy pursued by Mr Gorbachev has spread throughout the entire world.

[Yalcin] But not to the Armenians.

[Mutalibov] That is right. However, it has spread to the entire world. All countries have been following this state of affairs. As has been observed in the case of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO], the oppressive regime was not allowed to continue. Former methods of oppression were not employed. Consequently, the problems became more serious.

[Yalcin] We have received reports that the Armenians have set up secret armed militia groups in the NKAO. Can a war break out between the two republics?

[Mutalibov] No, I do not think so. Even if there is tension between the two republics, actual war will not break out. Such war is impossible. The government and the state will not allow it. Furthermore, there is no need for war. The two nations live side by side in the same region. Neither the Armenians nor the Azerbaijanis will leave.

[Yalcin] Can the Armenians pose a threat to Nakhichevan in the long run?

[Mutalibov] No, I do not think so. There were many Armenians in Nakhichevan and the NKAO in the past. The situation is different now. As far as we are concerned, the matter can now be summed up in the words of the proverb: The dogs may howl, but the caravan continues to move.

[Yalcin] Can the Armenians attack the Turks if a gate is opened at the Nakhichevan border?

[Mutalibov] No, they cannot attack.

[Yalcin] A popular front has been established in Azerbaijan. Will it become a political party? Does it represent the majority of the people? What kind of a policy does the popular front plan to follow? Does it support the idea of autonomy or does it favor a move toward independence?

[Mutalibov] In general, the Popular Front acts on behalf of the people. The name of this movement is the Popular Front. Undoubtedly, our people who have joined the Popular Front cherish goodwill. They are debating the problems which have accumulated over many years. This should not be regarded as a strange situation because popular fronts exist in various other republics as well.

[Yalcin] Will the Popular Front establish a political party?

[Mutlibov] I cannot answer that question at the present time because I do not know. The Popular Front is composed of intellectuals from every part of the republic. It was established by popular demand and with the encouragement of the associations set up by the people. They even publish their own newspaper.

[Yalcin] Are they asking for more autonomy for Azerbaijan?

[Mutalibov] The members of the Popular Front act on behalf of the people. They want more freedom and prosperity for the people of Azerbaijan. Furthermore, they want the old systems which have been imposed on us to be removed. They are trying to do away with social injustice, and what's more, they want individuals who

are inefficient in their jobs and those who do not serve the people satisfactorily to be replaced by capable and efficient individuals.

[Yalcin] A number of radical individuals joined the Popular Front during the last congress by defeating the social democrats.

[Mutalibov] There is a conflict between them. Social democratic associations exist in various republics. They have decided to parlticipate in the elections. I do not know whether they will be elected.

[Yalcin] Does the Azerbaijan Communist Party wish to separate from Moscow, as in the case of Lithuania?

[Mutalibov] No, it does not.

[Yalcin] To what extent do you plan to remain affiliated with Moscow? What do you plan to do in the economic field in particular?

[Mutalibov] The Communist Party will hold a congress in the near future where it will debate these matters. Undoubtedly, the approach, systems, and way of thinking of a party which has been working for the past 70 years have to change. Our political party leaders have made a promise in that regard. The federal republics will enjoy freedom to a certain degree. The republics will have a certain degree of independence.

[Yalcin] Will economic independence be recognized and to what extent?

[Mutalibov] The party should not be occupied with economic work, trade, and similar activities. The party will not exert its influence on these matters. The party will not interfere.

[Yalcin] You have held talks with representatives of various banks and institutions in Turkey. You wish to upgrade your trade and economic relations with Turkey. What kind of prices will you ask for the commodities you sell to Turkey? Will they be the prices that are in effect in your controlled economy or will your prices be in accordance with international standards?

[Mutalibov] Most likely, the prices will be in the interest of the two sides. They may be in accordance with international prices or they may be prices established on the basis of agreements.

[Yalcin] What commodities do you wish to buy from Turkey?

[Mutalibov] We want to buy whatever Turkey produces, including consumer goods, leather products, shoes, and foodstuffs. Furthermore, we wish to undertake joint investments with Turkey.

[Yalcin] Will Turkey buy oil from Azerbaijan? Has this matter been taken up?

[Mutalibov] It has not been officially discussed. However, we are considering this possibility.

[Yalcin] We hear a lot of complaints about contamination of land in Azerbaijan. It has been claimed that a number of methods used in the collective farming system are harmful. Are reforms in the matter of land ownership planned in Azerbaijan? In other words, are plans being made to recognize people's right to own land?

[Mutalibov] Matters related to private ownership are being discussed. However, the matter can be resolved at the union level within the USSR. The matter will be debated at the next congress. A law is required in that regard. Procedures related to the question of land will probably change in accordance with the structure of the republics. There will be those who will demand to own their own land and there will be those who will not. We are already providing land to those who wish to own their own property and we will continue to do so.

[Yalcin] Meanwhile, is it true that you wish to have more economic independence and move away from central authority?

[Mutalibov] Yes, we want that.

[Yalcin] Will you be completely free to travel abroad in the future?

[Mutalibov] We are drawing up new bills calling for economic and political freedoms and for closer contacts with the countries and the peoples of the free world [as published]. That is what we want to achieve. In general, this is in accordance with the policy that is pursued within the country.

[Yalcin] Will your citizens be given the freedom to acquire passports and travel abroad?

[Mutalibov] Yes, we shall recognize them this freedom.

Thousands of Azeris Enter Iran for Friday Prayers

LD1901103990 Tehran IRNA in English 1016 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] Tabriz, East Azerbayjan Prov., Jan. 19, IRNA—Thousands of Soviet Azeris crossed the border point of Bileh Savar and entered Iran Friday morning intending to take part in the Friday congregational prayers in the region.

This occurred despite the sealing off of Pol Dasht and Jolfa border points by Soviet military forces after a state of emergency was announced in the area by the Soviet leadership.

A large number of women, children and elderly are among the incomers.

More than 5,000 Soviet Azeris arrived here Thursday afternoon through this border region.

They were warmly greeted by Iranian border dwellers and after touring the town and receiving gifts such as

copies of the Holy Koran and pictures of the late Imam Khomeyni and Ayatollah 'Ali Khamene'i gradually returned home.

Bileh Savar is one of the land border points beteween the two countries.

Azerbaijani Helicopter Fired On In Lachin 5 Dec

90US0370A Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 12 Dec 89 p 4

[Article by M. Aliyev, Azerinform correspondent: "Almost a Combat Report"]

[Text] On 5 December an Mi-8 helicopter of the Azerbaijani Administration of Civil Aviation, tail No 24589, was shot at from the territory of the Armenian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic].

"On that day the helicopter crew was flying some representatives of the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] to Lachin. The crew acted as agreed with the commanders of the Gorisskiy ROVD [rayon department of internal affairs]," reported I. Khanlarov, deputy commander of the Lachinskiy ROVD and major of the militia, who was also on board the helicopter. "As we were approaching the post near the Armenian village of Tekh, the helicopter was shot at from carbines by six people who were on a hill 200 meters away from the post. The six stopped shooting only after the interference of some cadets from Barnaul special school of the USSR MVD. The six got off the hill, went down to the road, got into the "Zhiguli" car that was waiting for them and disappeared. We contacted the Gorisskiy ROVD about the crime and received the following response: "The search which was conducted to find the people who were assumed to have shot at the helicopter in the vicinity of the Tekh post did not result in a positive outcome."

On 7 and 8 December, from the direction of villages Arabus and Tekh, Gorisskiy Rayon of the Armenian SSR, some groups of armed Armenian extremists periodically conducted intensive fire, using various types of firearms, at the villages of Dzhagazur, Gazydere, Zabukh, and Gaigy of the Lachinskiy Rayon, Azerbaijan SSR. On 8 December, a group of Armenian bandits attempted to attack the village of Nizhniy Dzhimdzhli of the Lachinskiy Rayon from the direction of the village of Kornidzor, Gorisskiy Rayon. They occupied the dominating heights and fired upon the village. A subunit of the cadets of the Barnaul special school of the USSR MVD managed to come to the aid of the Azerbaijan SSR MVD officers and they had to start return fire which drove away the extremists. Three of the attackers were wounded. One of them, Norik Khachikovich Arutyunyan, born in 1966 in the village of Udzhan, Ashtarakskiy Rayon of the Armenian SSR, of which he also was a resident, later died. During the examination of the site of the crime bullet holes were found in the doors and roofs of residential buildings.

Measures have been taken now to ensure the security of the villagers of Nizhniy Dzhimdzhli and to repel possible attacks against other villages of the Lachinskiy Rayon that border on the Armenian SSR.

Lithuanian Social Democratic Party Registered

LD1901110990 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Excerpts] The Presidium of the Council of Ministers, at yesterday's sitting, registered the Lithuanian Social Democratic Party [LSDP]. [passage omitted] Chirman of the Lithuanian Social Democrats, Professor of Economics Kazimieras Antanavicius, has told Radio Vilnius that the party now numbers between 1,500 to 2,000 members. During the forthcoming elections to Lithuania's Supreme Soviet, due to be held at the end of February, the Social Democrats hope to win about 12 to 15 seats, that is one tenth of the members of parliament. Kazimieras Antanavicius pointed out that four Social Democrats are USSR people's deputies for Lithuania, though in those elections in the spring of last year they were run by Sajudis [Lituanian Movement for Restructuring]

Lately, the Lithuanian Social Democrats Party has received an invitation, following the parliamentary elections, to visit France in order to adopt know-how. A similar invitation has been received through the party's (embassy) in West Germay to come and establish contacts with the prominent leader of the International Social Democratic movement, Willy Brandt.

Registered at the same sitting of the Presidium of the Council of Ministers were also the Lithuanian Deportees Union, and the scandalous Venibe-Yedinstvo-Jednosc organization, that are antipodes [not further identified] in their essence.

Independent Lithuanian CP 17 Jan Plenum Examined

PM1801125790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Jan 90 Second Edition p 2

[Own correspondent V. Matulyavichyus report: "Plenum Held"]

[Text] Vilnius, 17 Jan—A Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee plenum was held here today.

Its participants discussed the results of the visit to the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet. A report on this question was delivered by A.K. Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. The adopted resolution noted that the visit to Lithuania by M.S. Gorbachev and a group of CPSU Central Committee members had promoted an improvement in mutual understanding, and it expressed the confidence that this would be

conducive to the adoption of mutually acceptable resolutions at the forthcoming CPSU Central Committee plenum.

The avenues of the Communist Party's work on the eve of the elections to the republic's Supreme Soviet were examined, as were the principles for reorganizing party structures and their leading organs.

More Reportage on 20th Lithuanian Party Congress

Truski Statement

90UN0655B Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 29 Dec 89 p 3

[Statement by Lyudas Truski, department chief at the Vilnius Pedalogical Institute, at the Lithuanian Communist Party 20th Congress in Vilnius: "The Mistakes and Crimes Committed in the Past by the Communists of Lithuania"; date not given]

[Text] I think that for our renewed party its heaviest ballast is its past. I am profoundly convinced that we are obligated to tell ourselves and all of Lithuania the truth and only the truth, no matter how bitter it may be. The grim truth must be told so that even our strongest opponents will have nothing to add. There is no other way, for if we do not tell the whole truth ourselves, our opponents will remind us of it at every step.

The truth is first and foremost that our predecessor—the Lithuanian organization of the CPSU—throughout the entire 70 years of its existence was too often indifferent or even hostile to the interests of the Lithuanian people, the chief interest being the desire to have their own state. That is how it was in 1918-19 when the Lithuanian Republic was created, as was its contemporary, the Lithuanian Communist Party. That is how it was in 1940, when the Lithuanian Republic was buried. That is how it was in the postwar years when the people rose up in a hopeless and too unequal struggle of resistance.

I am able to recall this for those delegates who do not remember those distant years which have now become history. In May of 1988, when Lithuania had already awakened from its lethargic sleep, the Communist Party Central Committee's 11th Plenum was still discussing how to comply in the republic with the CPSU Central Committee February (1988) Plenum resolution, and it was berating the head of the Vilnius party organization for unsatisfactory indoctrination of the workers in class, international, and atheistic matters.

For some, it was preferable to see only mistakes in the past of the republic party organization. Unfortunately, serious crimes also took place. Ignoring the right of the people to self-determination in 1918 was a mistake, but the request for the insertion of the Red Army into Lithuania was a crime committed by the Lithuanian Communist Party (even though the Red Army had already marched without an invitation).

Failure to recognize the Lithuanian Republic during the 1930's and 1940's was a mistake, but the active help for Vladimir Dekanozov in liquidating the statehood of the Lithuanian people in 1940 was a crime.

Rejecting the national interests and absolutizing class contradictions was a mistake, but deporting the inhabitants of Lithuania from their motherland was a crime.

Overestimating the importance of large state farms and rejecting private ownership as a powerful incentive for economic activity was a theoretical mistake, but the enforced collectivization and uprooting of the peasants from the land was a crime.

The theoretical postulation about two cultures—proletarian and bourgeois—was a mistake, but the burning of books and the destruction of cultural monuments was a crime.

Today people often say: How can we, the communists of today, respond to the crimes committed by Stalin? As people, most communists do not have an attitude to the past of the Lithuanian Communist Party, but the organization is responsible. Ask any lawyer and he will say that an heir receives—not only the capital, but also the debts.

I think that in reaching a decision on the past of the Lithuanian Communist Party, we ourselves and all of Lithuania should also take into account certain weighty mitigating circumstances. The first half of the 20th Century was a time of profound decline in development of European civilization and culture, a great fornication, when millions of people rejected the ideals of democracy and swore allegiance to principle—some to fascism, others to Bolshevism—and then became the accomplices and even the executors of crimes that were unprecedented in scale.

The first half and the middle of the 20th Century comprised a period when communists throughout the world were imbued with national nihilism, and divided people not by nations but by classes, and absolutized the contradictions between the different strata of society, and imposed, if not the death sentence, then at least uncompromising struggle against their class enemies. How could the Lithuanian Communist Party move against the current?

The activity of the Lithuanian Communist Party in the past is largely explained by its composition. Before 1940 it was essentially a secretariat numbering just a few hundred members, of whom only half were Lithuanians. The intelligentsia shunned it. Early in 1941 communists with a higher education made up only 1% of the membership, while almost 90% of all members of the Lithuanian Communist Party had only a primary or incomplete primary education. In the postwar years the Lithuanian Communist Party grew in number quite quickly. It 1945 it numbered 3,500, and in 1950 some 28,000. But how did it grow? In 1948 the Lithuanians made up only 18% of the total, and half of the members of the Lithuanian

Communist Party were Poles. About 80% of the republic's communists were not local people but immigrants from Russia, Belorussia, and the Ukraine. Immigrants made up 90% of those in the system of state security, which at that time was very powerful, and also two-thirds of all workers in the nomenklatura of the republic's institutions. Many of them, the fathers of the present "internationalists," were inveterate Stalinists who regarded all Lithuanians as nationalists, clericals, and kulaks. It can therefore rightly be asserted that during the postwar years the Lithuanian Communist Party was an organization made up not of local people, but immigrants. How could the interests of the Lithuanian people worry such a Lithuanian Communist Party, and how could such an organization enjoy authority in Lithuania?

However, the greatest misfortune for the Lithuanian Communist Party, the cause of all those deformations and crimes, was its lack of independence. For it is common knowledge that Antanas Snechkus asked G. Malenkov not to force through collectivization in Lithuania. And what did he hear in reply? "Politburo resolutions are not a subject for discussion, but for compliance."

Or take cadre policy. After the CPSU Central Committee 20th Congress, with the start of the thaw certain "internationalists" who for 15 years had not bothered to study the language of the "aboriginals" had to leave Lithuania. And what was the upshot? The thunder was heard in Moscow. In 1961 at the Lithuanian Communist Party 12th Plenum, Antanas Snechkus had to beat his breast and confess to errors in cadre policy, while the secretary for ideological matters, Vladas Nyunke, was forced to resign his post. Things ended even more badly in Latvia, where the entire leadership was replaced.

It is common knowledge that Antanas Snechkus was not overly fond of corn, but he was not indifferent to Trakai Castle and other historical monuments. However, he had to work in difficult conditions, in constant fear, constantly looking over his shoulder toward the center. How many fine intentions and excellent initiatives were buried by the ill-starred question: "But what will Moscow say?"

The chroniclers, once against rewriting the history of Lithuania, have to note that even in the blackest years there were many brilliant personalities among the communists of Lithuania, who, as far as they were able, in word and in deed, through their lively work and through their activity developed critical thinking, prevented the national awareness from being extinguished, who cared about the economy and culture of Lithuania with all their hearts and souls. Permit me to name some of those communists. They included Karolis Pozhela and Kazis Matulaytis, Yustas Paletskis and Yuozas Bulavas, Yuozas Vayshnoras and Eugeniyus Meshkauskas, Eduardas Mezhelaytis and Yustinas Martsinkyavichyus, Vitautas Petkyavichyus and Yonas Avizhyus, Yuozas Matulis and Kazimeras Barshauskas, Yuozas Yurginis and Yonas Kubilyus, and many others. Today, some people are still reluctant to recognize this. But facts are facts: Sajudis was created by the communists of Lithuania along with the nonparty intelligentsia. The history of our national rebirth and restoration of statehood would be incomplete without a mention of the names of Kazimera Prunskene and Bronislav Genzyalis, Romas Gudaytis and Mindaugas Stakvilyavichyus, Romualdas Ozolas and Vladimir Berezov, Yuras Pozhela and Vitautas Statulyavichyus, Iokubas Minkyavichyus and Yustas-Vintsas Paletskis, and many, many other communists. On behalf of all progressive communists in the republic Algirdas Brazauskas coined the slogan "Lithuania without sovereignty is a Lithuania without a future."

I am deeply convinced that having turned back to the people, the Lithuanian Communist Party is really essential for Lithuania present and future. Lithuania today needs the party as the main force along the path of the restoration of statehood, while the Lithuania of the future needs a Lithuanian Communist Party, paradoxical though it may seem, that has enormous intellectual potential; it needs it as a guarantee of democracy. From the standpoint of internal forces, a communist dictatorship in the republic is already impossible since it has been totally discredited, and Lithuania is immune to it. On the other hand, the communists themselves have a vital interest in democracy in order to have the opportunity to exist as a party in the Lithuania of the future.

Berezov Press Conference

90UN0593C Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 22 Dec 89 p 4

[Unattributed report on news conference held by Vladimir Berezov, second secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, in Vilnius on 21 December]

[Text] Late in the evening following the congress' 2d day, Vladimir Berezov, second secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, held a meeting in the press center.

Responding to a question concerning a possible split in the Communist Party, V. Berezov observed that such a situation had indeed developed even prior to the announcement of the results of the ballot on the status of the Lithuanian Communist Party. It became known that the delegates who had voted for the second version of the decision intended walking out of the hall and conducting some forum of their own. A. Brazauskas, V. Berezov, and other leaders met with them during the break and dissuaded them from this. However, it was announced following the daytime meetings that the delegates which were now in the minority would hold their own meeting.

"In conversation with them," V. Berezov said, "we proposed the following option—participating in our activity with faction status. Such an option would, incidentally, appear to suit both extreme wings that have

formed now in our party. As you know, three platforms or factions are now taking shape. This does not scare us. Each will, possibly, acquire its quota in the party leadership. In my view, this would only stimulate the work of the Central Committee."

Several questions were asked regarding how the relations of an independent Lithuanian Communist Party with the CPSU would now take shape: Would its representatives attend the scheduled CPSU Central Committee January Plenum; in what capacity might Lithuania's communists attend the 28th CPSU Congress; and so forth.

V. Berezov replied that of late the leaders of the republic party organization had been going to CPSU Central Committee plenums as guests.

V. Berezov observed also that proclamation of the independence of the Lithuanian Communist Party did not mean a termination of all relations with the CPSU. This was not heard, incidentally, in the speeches of the majority of delegates either and is not reflected in the documents that have been adopted. We understand, V. Berezov said, that an independent Lithuanian Communist Party must maintain normal, benevolent relations with the CPSU, but we emphatically reject the principle of unquestioning subordination to the center. The more so in that the commands have emanated not from the elective Central Committee but mainly from its apparatus and individual leaders, who have quite often proven incompetent in our affairs.

Berezov Report

90UN0593A Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 22 Dec 89 pp 1, 3

[Report of Vladimir Berezov, second secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee to the 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress: "Draft Statute of the Lithuanian Communist Party"; date not given]

[Text] Dear comrade delegates and guests!

Yesterday we determined by individual vote the status of the Lithuanian Communist Party—it became independent. This is a very important and big step without parallel in its history. We must not stop here. An independent party must have its basic law, which regulates the duties and rights of members of the party, its organizational principles, and its rules and regulations.

The draft Lithuanian Communist Party Statute published in the press has evoked great interest among the communists and all inhabitants of the republic. Membership of the communists, the structure and activity of the primary and territorial party authorities, their jurisdiction, membership dues—these are the main problems for whose solution communists and nonparty people have proposed the most varied alternatives. This has been discussed extensively and in detail by the republic press, radio, and television.

In preparation of the statute we were guided by the propositions that, first, the Lithuanian Communist Party should be an independent political organization and integral part of the social and political system of the republic which operates in accordance with the LiSSR [Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic] Constitution. Second, being legally under equal conditions with other parties, the Lithuanian Communist Party will orient itself toward parliamentary struggle for the rights of governing party. Third, given a democratization of intraparty activity and determination of its rules corresponding to the democratic standards of the life of the whole of society, it is essential to take advantage of the great experience of organizational work and an effective structure. Fourth, we can perfect the Lithuanian Communist Party Statute at other congresses, with regard for the rapidly changing conditions of the present day and the accumulation of great experience.

In preparation of the draft we tried to tackle the following main, in our opinion, tasks: To democratize the party and create rules of party life which enshrine in practice the priority of the primary organizations—the basis of the party—in the formation and implementation of party policy. On the other hand, we tried to create conditions which would not restrict the communists' initiative and which would contribute to free discussion.

There is no need, evidently, to recount the entire content of the statute. You know it well. However, at the behest of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee commission for preparation of the program documents of the congress I have to call your attention to their main provisions and substantiate them.

The essence of any party is most precisely reflected by its activity and conditions for membership. Many communists called attention to the somewhat unusual general principles of activity which we propose: The voluntary approach, freedom of belief, free expression of opinion, collegiality, glasnost, party discipline, and the development of democracy. Answering the communists' questions, I wish to explain that these principles are of a more general and broader nature than the organizational principles which we are accustomed to consider universally recognized. Raised to the level of moral propositions, they emphasize the democratic nature of the independent Lithuanian Communist Party.

Some of them require somewhat more extensive comment.

As you know, the CPSU Statute which has been in effect hitherto recognizes only expulsion from the party. Therefore, Article 1 defines the principle of the voluntary approach.

A new principle of freedom of belief, which takes account of the diversity of opinions and makes an evaluation thereof which renounces categorical directives and so-called "militant atheism," is proposed. Is it any secret that we have up until now belittled such principles of civilization as rules of morality and justice

and the rights and freedoms of the individual. For what should we be uniting people of different views and beliefs? At the present stage such a goal is democratic, humane socialism, whose predominant principle is man.

In addition, it should not be forgotten that the constitution guarantees each individual certain rights, limiting which means a retreat from democracy. On the other hand, declaring that it is guided by the LiSSR Constitution, the party cannot limit the individual's freedom of belief.

It is very important that the communists have the opportunity to freely express their opinion, appeal for the support of the like-minded and, following the formulation of a common position, seek its recognition. This would contribute to the increased assertiveness of party members, the manifestation of their initiative, and increased responsibility for the fate of the party.

I shall not, for want of time, comment on the other principles of the draft statute inasmuch as it is sufficiently clear.

I do not believe that it would occur to anyone that these principles deny most important organizational principles which are essential for intra-party activity and which are well known to everyone: Electability and accountability, party discipline, and the duty of complying with decisions. These principles are affirmed not in one, but in several articles of the draft Lithuanian Communist Party Statute. They are interpreted now not in the channel of the understanding of Stalinist democratic centralism but differently.

Article 3, for example, affords the communist the opportunity to disagree with the opinion of the majority, express his own platform and seek its implementation.

I believe that many delegates could be entertaining doubts as to whether the party might sustain losses in connection with the fact that the individual member is accorded the right not to comply with a decision of a party body which is unacceptable to him. He may not prevent others from complying with it here. I would like to call your attention to the fact that together with this democratic provision a particular "defense mechanism," which is affirmed in Article 16, is provided for also. Consequently, if a party member does not comply with the Lithuanian Communist Party Program and is in violation of the statute, the primary organization may by two-thirds vote of the communists participating in the meeting warn him or expel him from the Lithuanian Communist Party. Some other preventive measures may also be needed, possibly.

The situation is similar to the possibility which is envisaged for party organizations in certain cases not to comply with the decisions of superior authorities. This is regulated by Article 23, which stipulates the right of the territorial organizations and committees to terminate the activity of primary party organizations if it is in conflict with the Lithuanian Communist Party Program and Statute.

The Lithuanian Communist Party Statute proposes a precisely determined membership. This is an unavoidable necessity for a party which aspires to participate in the running of the state under the conditions of a multiparty system. It is recommended dispensing with party candidates and recommendations at the time one joins the party and introducing the concept of party supporters with a voice, but no vote.

Some people propose definition of the ideological and organizational principles under whose guidance the Lithuanian Communist Party will develop in the future. There are opinions to the effect that it is necessary to emphasize Marxist-Leninist ideology, socialist internationalism, democratic centralism and party discipline, and the indestructible ideological unity of the communists. They believe that if such references are absent, it will be practically impossible to determine that it is this statute which is the law of the life of the Communist Party.

Such proposals frequently smack of conservatism, unfortunately. We know full well how these concepts were dogmatized, and for this reason it is considerably more advisable, in our view, to seek emphases which impart comprehensive meaning to these concepts, and not use them mechanically. We are not abandoning principles which have been proven by practice. But let us look at them dialectically, renouncing all that is ossified and fails to correspond to current requirements. There is no doubt that loyalty to the idea is the main connecting link of the party, but it should not be reerected as a dogmatic assertion.

In drawing up the draft Lithuanian Communist Party Statute we have not abandoned the existing party structures but new relations between party components of different levels are proposed. The primary organizations, which, directly delegating their representatives to the higher authorities, shape their policy, reserving for the latter the role of coordinator, take precedence. The draft statute propose two versions of the creation of primary organizations. The first makes it possible to found such organizations at the place of work or residence and of artistic or other individual activity, the second additionally proposes the creation of such formations on the basis of various associations, societies, and clubs. Quite a few proposals supporting both forms of wording were received. In our opinion, the party should not be turned into a debating club. The congress will undoubtedly have the final say here. But I would support the first version inasmuch as the party is primarily a political organization uniting people of like mind, connected by common work and creativity, united for common activity, and knowing one another.

Paragraph 1 of Article 12, which permits the communist at his discretion to choose his primary party organization, is controversial also. If this is legalized, there arises the justified question of party discipline in general.

On the other hand, the free choice of party organization for the realization of one's intentions could, given the current political situation, contribute to the creation of groupings of communists and their polarization on a national basis. This would weaken the party ranks and bring about the danger of a party split. I believe that the delegates will speak on these provisions conditioning communists' activity with a full sense of responsibility.

Another important point is the party structure. It is planned to separate the authorities who decide policy matters from the executive bodies—the party machinery. In this sense the "secretariat" category is infused with new content.

It is proposed in place of the Party Control Commission and the Auditing Commission, which are in fact subordinate to the Central Committee, electing at the congress Appeal and Financial commissions and their chairmen and deputies. These commissions are to operate on a par with the Central Committee and perform specific functions. The Appeal Commission, for example, will examine the appeals of the communists and party organizations, contentious issues in connection with practical application of the provisions of the Lithuanian Communist Party Statute, and so forth. The Financial Commission will monitor the financial-economic activity of the party's executive authorities and its enterprises. Both the republic and corresponding commissions of territorial organizations should evidently coordinate their activity and be guided by common provisions. We propose discussing the general rules of the activity of these commissions at the current congress.

The preparations for this congress legalized the democratic procedure of the elections of delegates and the direct delegation of communists to the higher party authorities. As you know, the were elected also in the primary organizations and groups, and at city and rayon conferences.

The draft statute enshrines this practice.

The draft document proposes a new procedure of the elections of both secretaries of party territorial organizations and of the Central Committee.

A further aspect of party work merits attention. Experience shows that where the rules did not specifically regulate the functions of this party body or the other (higher bodies particularly), the latter adopted with the aid of the apparatus, supervision being absent, decisions and instructions which curbed in every way possible the rights of the lower party components.

Theoretically, of course, it could be forecast that with the democratization of intra-party activity this should not happen, nonetheless, we would like to propose that the congress itself regulate the competence not only of the Central Committee but also the Appeal and Financial commissions and confirm the instructions pertaining to the registration of members of the Lithuanian Communist Party, the basic financial principles and the principles of record keeping. This should prevent their bureaucratization.

The possibilities of the political activity of the Lithuanian Communist Party will depend to a considerable extent on party resources and the possibility of hiring the optimum number of permanent officials, who, in our opinion, should be hired and fired on the basis of the LiSSR Code of Labor Legislation. Smaller membership dues will have an effect also. In connection with the impending diminution in the party's financial resources difficulties could arise in the formation of a new party structure and the exercise of social justice in respect of employees of the party machinery. Inasmuch as those dismissed would have to seek employment it would obviously be necessary to compensate the losses connected with this in the form of benefits. To prevent this we suggest that the congress preserve until 1 July the provisions of party membership dues in effect currently. It will undoubtedly be necessary to dispense with the old machinery (which was, possibly, larger than it should have been).

Of what kind should it be? This is the prerogative of the congress, of course. However, no one will take issue, evidently, with the fact that the party still needs professionals and that we cannot manage without a base for the training of party activists and much else, without which no sizable party, wherever and whichever, can operate fruitfully. It stands to reason that it will be necessary to seek (this is already being done) new sources of party funds. It will be necessary to make more rational use of the profit obtained from the party press and the work force supporting the activity of the Lithuanian Communist Party and to economize on receipts from the party's business organizations. This is reflected in the draft statute also.

One more thing. A most important question troubling the republic's communists, who are fully resolved to achieve real independence, is that of relations with the CPSU and the parties of the other union republics. However, the achievement of this goal is impeded by the obvious difference between the current CPSU Program and Rules and the drafts of the new Lithuanian Communist Party documents.

While declaring common goals, we cannot predict how and by which path of perestroyka the CPSU will proceed in the future. However, as you know, it is planned preparing and submitting for the communists' discussion in the very near future the CPSU's political platform. Preparation of the new CPSU rules will begin simultaneously. Following the promulgation of these documents, we will be in a position to speak more convincingly and specifically about relations with the CPSU. We believe that we need a transitional period

that convinces us in what direction and how extensively the CPSU will encourage an exchange of ideas and thoughts and to what extent it will heed the voice of the republic's communists.

Only given benevolent cooperation and mutual understanding and with a common goal—perestroyka and the renewal of the whole party—can we hope for the prerequisites which will emerge in the course of the achievement of close bonds of cooperation between the CPSU and the Lithuanian Communist Party. Common goals and a common direction en route to our perestroyka would illuminate our mutual relations markedly.

Only thus, not alienating but trusting one another and evaluating opportunely and realistically the processes of democratization throughout the country, can fatal mistakes be avoided. Man, his material well-being and his spiritual liberty and real, not placard, friendship may strengthen our endeavors and render them realistic and feasible.

Dear comrades! The authors of the draft statute studied the experience of organizational work of the communist, socialist, workers, and other parties of certain countries and their rules. All this was creatively employed in the preparation of this important and, I believe, original document. In the course of discussion of the draft the communists learned to coordinate various opinions and patiently and profitably conduct a dialogue. Finding a common language, both groups—the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee working party and the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences action committee—worked fruitfully on the statute. It was on the basis of their proposals that the draft was prepared. It is the result of the very active, creative labor of many communists. It was possible by common efforts to also perfect the draft published in the press. However, a great deal of crucial work awaits the commission formed by the congress—evaluating once again the proposals and observations which were received.

Permit me on behalf of our congress to thank for their conscientious work all those who prepared the draft statute and all communists for their practical and active support during their discussion.

As Comrade Brazauskas said yesterday, we have thought through the concept of realization of the new Lithuanian Communist Party Statute. I would like briefly to set forth its essence.

Everyone understands that determination of the party's status begins with its practical implementation, proceeding from the Lithuanian Communist Party Statute, on discussion of which we are embarking. This is a complex process of our party's reorganization, which will take time. Its success will depend both on internal and external circumstances.

Of course, the appropriate preparation is necessary to ensure that changes occur at different levels of the party and that the current structures acquire new forms.

In our case, as always, transitions and transformations between or within parties should be well thought out, without any moral offense, and without violation of the right of man's free self-determination.

What are the problems here and how should they be resolved? First, there is the difficult problem of membership. The present members of the CPSU have to finally decide whether to be a member of the Lithuanian Communist Party or not. Since graphic steps of the restructuring of the CPSU will emerge at the 28th Congress, this, I believe, should be the final date for a decision to be made.

At the time of formation of the primary and territorial organizations it would be expedient to preserve the existing internal organizational structure, that is, extend the authority of the executive bodies of the primary and territorial committees until the day the new committees are formed.

Some specific problems should be resolved very simply, proceeding from the principles of activity recorded in the Lithuanian Communist Party Statute. During the transition period, it is proposed being guided by several basic points:

- First, use of party cards with notification thereon of the appropriate indications concerning membership in the Lithuanian Communist Party;
- Second, until the 28th CPSU Congress members of the CPSU will participate in political activity in the corresponding structures of the Lithuanian Communist Party;
- Third, those joining the Communist Party next year will be issued a temporary membership card of the established pattern, and new party cards will be issued as of 1 January 1991.

The newly elected Central Committee should assemble at a plenum and analyze in detail the issues connected with this and find the optimum solutions.

I believe that for many communists such a length of time for making the decision is no less significant than the candidate's term of probation for those joining the party for the first time.

On the other hand, we need to ask all Lithuanian communists to act professionally and creatively, live according to our party's new status and comply with the Lithuanian Communist Party Program and Statute.

In adopting the party statute the congress will legalize an independent political party in Lithuania, which should correspond to the cherished aspirations of many communists. We hereby count on the understanding and assistance of supporters and comrades.

Dear delegates!

It is impossible owing to the lack of time to encompass all the issues that need to be discussed.

We hope that you will analyze in greater depth and detail the proposed rules of intraparty life, amplify certain provisions of the statute and express your proposals and observations.

Thank you for your attention.

Brazauskas Gives Political Report

90UN0590B Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 20 Dec 89 pp 1-3

[Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Political Report read by First Secretary Algirdas Brazauskas to 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress in Vilnius on 19 December 1989]

[Text] Comrade delegates and dear guests!

The congress, the need for which has for so long been discussed by the communists and all of Lithuania, has begun. It has been brought about by our hopes and aspirations and the goals which we have formulated in consideration of people's desires. At the congress we must not only render account of the preceding period but also politically legalize the independence of the Lithuanian CP [Communist Party] and determine its place in the political life of the republic. This historic step will undoubtedly have repercussions for all of Lithuania and its development and also for the current geopolitical situation.

Why did the need to convene this 20th Party Congress arise? This was discussed at the 22d plenum. Let us today return to this matter once again.

First, as I have already mentioned, it is the will of the majority of Lithuania's communists, born of the objective need for renewal and for dissociation from the tragic mistakes made by the party in the past and from Stalin's crimes. This means that the congress should scrupulously and comprehensively evaluate the contradictory events of our past.

Second, it is an attempt to switch from the strictly centralized, virtually state role of the party to the status of democratic political party. A whole set of problems dealing with the democratization of Lithuania's political system is connected with this. The main thing is the legalization of political pluralism, a start on which was made at the last Supreme Soviet session, which altered Article 6 of the LiSSR [Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic] Constitution.

Third, the profound consequences of the socioeconomic crisis will not be effectively overcome if the status of the party's subordination is at odds with the concept of the republic's economic independence. The practical embodiment of economic independence will require effort from everyone and will lower the intensity of the sometimes vain passions of political debate since the whole Lithuanian population has an interest in a rise in the socioeconomic level.

Fourth, it is essential to enshrine the independence of the Lithuanian CP, which will afford an opportunity to participate worthily and on an equal basis in essentially the first democratic elections since the war to the republic Supreme Soviet and the local soviets, that is, to democratically win a place in the activity of legislative and executive authorities.

Fifth, it is essential to renew the Central Committee. We wish to see therein creative thinking communists prepared to labor selflessly for the good of Lithuania. It is necessary to change the methods of work and the mutual relations of the communists within the party itself.

The idea that it was no longer possible to live as we had been living and that a profound reform of society was necessary was formulated in society almost 5 years ago. The time has come to answer the questions of what we have done, what we will do henceforth and how, to what end we are engaging in perestroyka, how we perceive this end and what results we are seeking in pursuing it.

The communists are obliged today, in view of all of Lithuania, to once again designate the goals to which they aspire and to which they will continue to aspire in their activity.

First, the all-around development of democracy. Only guided by the principles of democracy, which have proven their viability throughout the history of civilization, is it possible to build a modern society. Only in such a society can each person realize himself.

Second, the restoration of Lithuania's statehood. This strategic goal of ours would, as the statement of well-known figures of science and culture of the republic issued 2 months ago said, ensure its existence as a sovereign state with a centuries-old history of statehood and also the material and spiritual prosperity of all inhabitants of our region, social justice and the continued development of culture and science.

Third, the independence of the Lithuanian CP. Only by being independent can it express the interests of the inhabitants of Lithuania and compete as equals with other political forces, and, possessing considerable intellectual and organizational possibilities, such a party would help lead Lithuania from the political and socioeconomic crisis to a democratic society and guarantee the stability of this process.

We are realists and are firmly convinced that we are evaluating the social and political situation which has taken shape in the republic objectively. It is truly both complex and contradictory. We would be wrong were we to see only the spiritual upsurge of broad strata of society and national revival. These trends are undoubtedly preponderant. There is together with this considerable political tension, which has in places reached a critical level.

The difficult economic situation, which has come about because of the insufficiently thought out and decisively

implemented economic reform and because of the consequences of inflation, a remiss bureaucratic-managerial machinery and the diktat of economic and commercial officials, which are commonly known, is contributing particularly to the increase in tension. The current socioeconomic situation is conducive to the manifestation of opposition forces which openly aspire to destabilize the political situation in the republic. As you know, persons or groups thereof disposed to a violation of the rules of law are trying actively to avail themselves of this situation. There can hardly ever before have been as many crimes, particularly organized, committed in Lithuania as now. It is to be regretted that many party and soviet authorities are essentially doing nothing to rectify this situation. Many law enforcement officials are also insufficiently active.

We communists fully understand the people's concern over the economic instability, the slackening of discipline, the menacing ecological situation, the decline in the subsistence level and the manifestation of social injustice and also over actions which by no means contribute to the cohesion of society. Nonetheless, it is patently insufficient today merely to understand and interpret all this. The time has come to show in actual deeds what we can do to achieve a cardinal change for the better. We are profoundly convinced that our congress will have telling words to say.

We all recognize that in the present-day political life of the republic a most important problem is the restoration of Lithuania's statehood. There is on this issue a wide spectrum of opinions: from one extreme—political independence immediately, despite the socioeconomic conditions and consequences—to the opposite—changing nothing.

On the basis of the natural law of the nation there arises also its right to sovereignty. Economic and political independence and statehood proper are essential for the realization of sovereignty. Nonetheless, a nation's statehood cannot be absolutized. It is a means for the survival and normal existence of the nation, but not an end in itself. The real goal is a democratic society, social equality and conditions wherein people's material and spiritual requirements are realized to the maximum and their creative potential is revealed. What we have hitherto called socialist democracy has not been democracy in the full meaning of this word.

The Lithuanian CP has set forth its position on this issue repeatedly. We advocate a sovereign Lithuanian state. I would like to remind you here that, according to international law, sovereignty means a state's political independence and independent domestic and foreign policy.

Any nation longs to have its own state. This is both indisputable and axiomatic. Consequently, we face the following problem: How to realize this goal and achieve a statehood which corresponds in actual fact to the interests of the inhabitants of Lithuania?

At the 18th Plenum of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee Lithuania's communists determined on the parliamentary path to achieve the goal. This choice has now been approved by the main political forces of the republic. Proceeding along this path step by step, we have already achieved a great deal. I would like to recall the most appreciable achievements. The Supreme Soviet sovereignty declaration has been adopted, an assessment of the events of 1939-1940 has been made and, what is most important, a law on economic independence has been enacted. These steps enjoy support not only in the Soviet Union but throughout the world.

The recent meeting off the coast of Malta showed once again that political realism determines contemporary events and cannot be ignored when local problems are also being tackled. Otherwise we would inevitably lose allies and bar the way to the whole policy of perestroyka. An understanding that all spheres are to be democratized is now taking a firm hold in the Soviet Union and in the CPSU itself, and this will inevitably lead to a restructuring of the unitary state. The model of a federative state, which, albeit not recorded in the constitution, is by some people being persistently instilled in public opinion, is hardly acceptable. The country's future, in our view, is an alliance of sovereign states. An alliance wherein all states would be equal and have a distinctive culture and national identity. An alliance is of a qualitatively higher level than a federation, and achieving this will not be easy. However, only this form of association is acceptable, we believe, for really sovereign states.

The way to independence is a process which has its own duration and its own strategy, its own stages and its own immediate and long-term goals. All this is specifically set forth in the Lithuanian CP draft action program, which has been distributed to you. On a broader scale this draft is the path of active support for the domestic and foreign policy of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev making it possible even now to gradually and practically develop and consolidate the republic's sovereignty. It signifies the realization of economic independence making it possible to create the economic basis without which any political sovereignty is impossible. It signifies a path of political and social reforms which will make it possible to ensure Lithuania's independence and security.

The party, being now a principal political force of the republic, will aspire to this goal.

We appeal to all progressive forces to join their efforts in the name of Lithuania's future. The creation of a state based on the rule of law is not a prerogative only of the party. All strata of society have an interest in this. We will arrive at a democratic Lithuania more quickly by the path of rational evolution, and not spontaneous revolution.

Restructuring in the party means essentially its democratization and humanization. Of course, these values will not be introduced by some decree or directive.

The party is beginning to comprehend and understand the value and meaning of the most essential changes. The most appreciable aspect is the appearance of tolerance of the pluralism of opinions and the movements, parties and associations which are emerging. Some people call this a concession, capitulation and impotence on the part of the party. No, this is an extremely important developing feature of the party's growing maturity and democratization. The change in Article 6 of the constitution is also a manifestation of democratization and tolerance. After all, only one who is weak and morbid is, more often than not, irritable, vengeful, and malicious.

However, this is only the start. The defects, errors and crimes of the past cannot be renounced merely by an assurance that they will never be repeated or merely by repentance. This would be dishonest and unbecoming a communist. We can only condemn the past by working differently, living differently and cooperating differently and being guided by never-aging values common to all mankind. It is essential first of all to embody this in the party itself.

Democracy is the power of the people and self-management at all levels. It is essential to secure for every citizen an opportunity to directly influence the legal mechanism defending his interests. Our main goal is restoring the role and significance of the human personality as the principal subject in the historical process.

The problem of human rights also ensues successively from the development of democracy and from the importance and necessity of the elaboration of legal structures. The degree of guarantees thereof is a criterion of how far the human personality is valued in society and the state.

Our goal is a democratic state in which all citizens are guaranteed extensive rights and freedoms. We took the first step in this direction on 18 May of this year, adopting an amendment to Article 37 of the LiSSR Constitution. It says that citizens of the LiSSR possess all the rights and liberties which are proclaimed in generally recognized international rules of law and that these rights and liberties are protected by justice. The amendment to Article 50 of the constitution, providing for considerably greater freedom of thought, belief, religious belief, or atheism, is important also.

Implementation of the principle of social justice must be real—we are duty bound to ensure for each member of our society equal opportunities for aspiring by his labor to a proper living standard and effective social assistance.

While possessing tremendous experience in organizing and management work (sometimes extremely unsuccessful, unfortunately!), the Communist Party is still undoubtedly in debt to society. The time has come to pay off the debts. One such, an urgent one, is to obtain a social mandate to introduce and support democratic order and calm and to resolutely build the foundation of a law-based society.

It is time to rein in violence and crime, block mass larceny, bar the way to profiteering and corruption, bring order to bear in our life, ensure tranquillity and safety for the people and put a stop to drunkenness and alcoholism. These are sores of society which, if not cured, will reduce our aspirations to nothing. However, we will strive to achieve this by political measures and the personal example of communists and by means of the primary party organizations and all party institutions. Our priority duty is to create in society an attitude of intolerance toward negative phenomena.

The political goals of the Lithuanian CP are inseparable from socialism as the concept of a system of social mutual relations. We Lithuanian communists are shaping the following attitude toward socialism: It should be restored to a framework wherein it is economically efficient, socially expedient and sensible. Socialism today is not just a system of social justice in which it is necessary primarily to restore national statehood and realize the true power of the people and democracy based on constitutional legality. The ideal of socialism is humanism and the free revelation of man's spiritual, moral and physical forces. As a form of social development it should contribute to the efficiency of economic development, encouraging people's interest in high-quality labor and creating practicable prerequisites for the realization of social justice. Absolute privatization is just as pernicious as the global depersonalization of the results of human activity, and for this reason we have further to find forms for the development of society which make it possible to link the control of social production with the revival of people's personal initiative.

The process of renewal is developing at an accelerated pace in the republic. It is encompassing both the economy and the social sphere. However, the main idea, which has taken possession of broad strata of society, is that of the revival of the nation and its state sovereignty. It is not easy to substantiate this idea, even more to realize it. For this reason it is entirely natural that many people with a profound understanding of the idea's exceptional importance are turning to history and seeking spiritual support in the experience of preceding generations.

To what does the history of Lithuania's statehood bear witness, what can and should be learned from it?

This year sees the completion of 980 years since the first mention of Lithuania in literary sources. How the state of Lithuania took shape is mentioned in chronicles as of the third decade of the 13th century—in 1236. It may be maintained that the Lithuanian state has an 800-year history.

Lithuania's history has seen everything: Rises and falls, expedient association and disastrous discord. Historical destiny has not looked kindly on the statehood of the Lithuanian nation.

The gradual destruction of Lithuanian statehood began with the conclusion of the Lublin Union of 1569. At the end of the 18th century the Neman region became part of the Russian tsarist empire. For a whole 123 years the liquidation of Lithuania's statehood was a barrier to national, economic, social, and cultural progress.

The tsarist administration in Lithuania, particularly following the suppression of the 1863 uprising, firmly adhered to great-power chauvinism. For four decades the endeavor to eliminate the national school and press and to ban the Lithuanian language contributed to the national oppression. Nonetheless, despite the persecution, the inhabitants of Lithuania disseminated the Lithuanian press and learned the Lithuanian language and writing. The distinctiveness of the nation and the Lithuanian language and culture were thus preserved. A particular part here was played by the Lithuanian intelligentsia, primarily that section which united around the AUSHRA and VARPAS publications. It contributed actively to the revival of the nation and strengthened its aspirations to restore national statehood.

At the end of World War I, when the empires of tsarist Russia and Kaiser Germany collapsed, Soviet power was created in Lithuania. The communists and also the revolutionary forces which supported them fought for it. And we still commemorate 16 December 1918—the day of proclamation of the manifesto of the Lithuanian Provisional Revolutionary Government.

The political forces which enjoyed the support of broad strata of society closed ranks actively also. So 16 February 1918 has gone down in the history of Lithuania as the day of the restoration of statehood and the date of the return to Lithuania of independence. This is now our national holiday.

The restored independent Lithuanian state lasted only two decades. Nonetheless, a profound trace of it remained in people's consciousness. The Lithuanian people once again showed that they are capable of independently controlling their lives and of successfully developing the economy and culture. The Lithuanian republic gradually approached the level of the states of middle development of that time and had a hard currency. Much was done to develop national culture. The national minorities also had in Lithuania conditions conducive to the development of their culture.

Nonetheless, there were in the Lithuanian republic at that time social clashes also, the reason for which were the considerable property inequality, opposite class interests and interparty discord. Strife intensified after 1926, when the Tautininki [Nationalists] carried out a coup d'etat and established an authoritarian regime. In time the dissatisfaction of broad stata of society with the existing situation were manifested more strongly and opposition sentiments increased.

We often proudly stress that the Lithuanian republic was recognized de jure not only by Soviet Russia but also by a number of other important states. Throughout the interwar period the Soviet Union was the only one of the great powers to recognize Vilnius and the Vilnius region as an inalienable part of Lithuania. However, if we investigate carefully, we can see that Lithuania was largely dependent on the policy of the great states. Alas, even the democratic Western states failed to defend Lithuania when Poland wrested away Vilnius, and Germany the Klaypeda region, and a little later the Lithuanian Republic itself disappeared also.

The decisive part here, just as at the end of the 18th century, was played by the heads of the neighboring great powers. The implementation of the treaties between Stalin's USSR and Hitler's Germany, signed on 23 August and 28 September 1939, and also the secret protocols opened the way to Lithuania's incorporation in the Soviet Union. The decisive step in the development of this process was taken on 15 June 1940, when supplementary Red Army units entered Lithuanian territory.

All the above compacts and their practical realization were a flagrant violation of the rules of international law. It left an incurable wound in the hearts of the Lithuanian population, and there is no excusing this.

Society has been excited by the findings of the LiSSR Supreme Soviet commission which has been entrusted with studying the Soviet-German treaties of 1939 and their consequences for Lithuania. The republic Supreme Soviet has approved the work performed by the commission. We are sure that, continuing it, this commission will gather valuable new material, which will make it possible to extend the backing for the conclusions which have already been published and make an objective evaluation of the events and processes of that time which have not been duly covered hitherto.

The Lithuanian CP also decided questions of Lithuania's statehood in a distinctive manner. The party made mistakes, which have now to be critically interpreted.

Born under the influence of the October Revolution in Russia, the Lithuanian CP essentially took over from its predecessors—Lithuania's social democrats—merely the slogan of struggle for social justice. Having imparted to it a revolutionary character, many communists fought courageously for the social liberation of the poorest strata of society. They also struggled actively against the Kaiser's occupation forces and for the creation of a Lithuanian soviet republic. Not only individual communists, but also the entire Lithuanian CP had at that time a religious belief in the possibility of world revolution and were unable to correctly evaluate nations' rights to self-determination proclaimed by Lenin and to tie it in with the Lithuanian people's longing to create a separate, sovereign Lithuanian state.

Of course, this was by no means a manifestation of ill intentions on the part of the Lithuanian CP. A whole number of young communist parties of that time made the same mistake. In addition, the guidelines and directives of the central authorities of the Russian Communist Party of Bolsheviks, fulfillment of which was at that time considered obligatory, also oriented the Lithuanian CP toward not giving pride of place to questions of national liberation. Incidentally, this situation was even officially legalized. The Eighth Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik) Congress held at the start of 1919 not only emphasized that the Lithuanian CP was endowed with the rights of an oblast organization but also determined that its Central Committee was unconditionally subordinate to the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik) Central Committee.

As of mid-July 1921 the Lithuanian CP became a separate department of the Comintern. But this did not impart to it greater independence. Guided by its statute stipulating strict dependence on the Comintern, the Lithuanian CP had to submit to the policy line of the center. It has to be seen that this dependence was intensified particularly by the Comintern's gradual conversion into a tool of Stalin's diktat.

Nonetheless, there is no reason to maintain that at that time the Lithuanian CP was entirely uninterested in questions of the republic's national statehood. The Lithuanian CP statute published in January 1938 says that the Lithuanian CP advocated preservation of Lithuania's independence. This thought was expressed also in other documents of the Lithuanian CP of that time. This resolve of Lithuania's communists was also confirmed by their practical activity. The communists struggled[4] actively against the perfidious actions of the ruling circles of Germany and Poland. However, the Lithuanian CP did not at that time divine the intentions of Stalinism.

Lithuania became an integral part of the USSR in the historical sense when the totalitarian system had already firmly taken shape there. The principles of command administration and the repressive methods of pursuing policy predominant in this system were mechanically transferred to Lithuania. An atmosphere of general suspicion and mistrust reigned in the social and political life of the republic. It is necessary to emphasize here that the Stalinist leadership of the USSR and the All-Russia Communist Party (Bolshevik) and the representatives of the coercive system which it directed did not mistrust just the majority of inhabitants of Lithuania but also the Lithuanian CP and its figures, which had emerged from clandestine activity on 25 June 1940. At the time of the exchange of party cards, over 500 members of underground organizations failed to receive them. Even when it had become the governing party, the Lithuanian CP did not acquire the status of independent political party. On the decision of the All-Russia Communist Party (Bolshevik) Central Committee on 8 October 1940 the Lithuanian CP was incorporated into the All-Russia Communist Party (Bolshevik) with the status of local (oblast) organization. The republic party organization was thereby turned into a direct tool of the Stalin regime and became an appendage of the powerful state machinery of repression.

The population of the republic was affected particularly poignantly by the mass deportation and banishment of totally innocent people to the harsh northern parts of the country which was organized by the Stalinists. The first wave of such criminal actions rolled over Lithuania on 14 June 1941. We now commemorate this day as the Day of Sorrow and Hope and honor also the memory of the victims of the even bigger deportations carried out in the postwar years.

Today, at this congress, with a profound sense of historical responsibility, we declare for all to hear that the Lithuanian CP is politically responsible for the fact that, having become an integral part of the totalitarian system of Stalinism, it carried out the wishes of that system. We categorically dissociate ourselves from the persons who, having taken cover behind the slogans of building the socialist society and having arrogated to themselves the right to represent the people's interests, violated the legitimate requirements and standards of morality common to all mankind.

Lithuanian soil was watered with blood and tears in the war years. The Hitlerites and their assistants wiped out hundreds of thousands of totally innocent people. We cannot forget this either. Just like the crimes which were perpetrated by certain of Stalin's assistants while retreating from Lithuania. The population of the republic used various methods to put up resistance to the Hitlerite occupation forces which represented a mortal threat to the existence of Lithuania itself, Lithuanians and people of other nationalities. And here also, to the credit of Lithuania's communists, it has to be said that many of them participated truly self-sacrificially in the popular resistance. Many of them fell in the liberation struggle.

In the war years Lithuania lost almost half a million inhabitants. There were among them also many who, knowing about the reality of the Stalinist Soviet Union, opted for the path of emigration. A particularly painful loss was the departure of some of the intelligentsia. There was a great shortage of the intelligentsia when those left in Lithuania had to urgently tackle complex tasks pertaining to the restoration of the economy and social and political life of the republic. In the postwar years the efforts of the Lithuanian CP were geared to the restoration and development of the war-ravaged national economy. Later plans for the territorial location of the republic's productive forces, the formation of new industrial centers, the use of labor resources and the development of culture and education were drawn up and implemented under Lithuanian CP leadership Party. Understanding the historic responsibility which had fallen to them, many communists joined in this work selflessly. We would be wrong were we not to duly appreciate their efforts to restore the devastated cities

and villages and to develop the industrial forces of the region, health care and centers of education and science. It was they—today's veterans—who laid the foundations of our life. Through the efforts of these people—workers, peasants, intellectuals—Soviet Lithuania caught up with and overtook many Soviet republics in terms of the level of industrial and agricultural production.

Unfortunately, the communists of the postwar years still had to work under the severest conditions dictated by Stalinism. These were times when the most brutal violence was considered a rule of social life and when even the slightest rational initiative and instance of political independence of the Lithuanian CP were disallowed.

A particularly important role in the introduction of Stalinism to the republic was played by the All-Russia Communist Party (Bolshevik) Central Committee Lithuania Bureau formed in November 1944. Initially the bureau was headed by M. Suslov, later, by V. Shcherbakov. Throughout those 3 years this bureau and its leadership, diligently implementing the style and methods of Stalin and his associates, left a bitter trace on Lithuanian soil. The All-Russia Communist Party (Bolshevik) Central Committee resolutions on the political work of the republic party organization, which were prepared by the bureau and which illustrated in a distorted light the social and political situation of that time and unjustifiably advanced the demand for an acceleration of socioeconomic change in Lithuania and the ruthless smashing of all "elements" who did not support this, had a particularly negative effect.

There were in the republic social and political forces which united in an armed clandestine political organization and put up resistance to the formation of the new system. There were among them also persons who sincerely believed in the call to struggle for the freedom and independence of Lithuania and who were counting on the promised assistance of the West. Many laid down their lives. Many Lithuanian people remember these years also for the crimes of the "forest brethren." These included murdered mothers, children, old men and simple peaceful peasants. These amounted to a fratricidal clash. The other side—the people's defenders—defended their ideals in this fight also. We know now that there would have been far fewer casualties had this struggle not been artificially inflamed. This was done not only by Western reactionary circles but also those who, taking cover behind the struggle for the working people's interests, perpetrated mass repression.

Action calls forth counteraction. The forcible collectivization of the peasants, the brutal use of both economic and political pressure and the mass deportation of the large landowners, then called kulaks, to the harsh northern parts of the country compromised the ideals of socialism. Even some of the poor and middle peasants and intellectuals loyal to the new system protested against Soviet power.

The republic leadership of that time understood that the socialist rearrangement of agriculture could not be a success without the necessary economic and social prerequisites. But the pressure from the Stalinists was strong and menacing and could not be resisted. In principle the collectivization of Lithuania was completed by the end of 1952.

The executors of Stalin's policy distorted and slowed the development of Lithuanian culture and artistic creativity. These "educators" of figures of literature and art were not original, of course: they assiduously reiterated the cliches of the corresponding resolutions of the All-Russia Communist Party (Bolshevik) Central Committee. The report of Kazis Preykshas, secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party (Bolshevik) Central Committee, at the general assembly of the republic's writers in the fall of 1946 and the speeches of Genrikas Zimanas and other party figures, whom we rightly condemn, were the clearest manifestations of Stalinist obscurantism. Great harm was caused by the protracted struggle against the supporters of the artificially concocted "single current" theory. These were attempts in the name of the Lithuanian CP to split the spiritual culture of the Lithuanian nation along class lines. Such efforts not only impeded diversified historical science but also disoriented the public.

An inalienable executive component of Stalin's policy was the ramified and practically unchecked machinery of violence. Many serious crimes were committed in Lithuania by Beriya's assistants. Their intention was to deal with the leadership of the republic also. The report "Questions of the LiSSR," which was drawn up by Beriya and his assistants at the start of 1953, testifies to this. This was a document which was approved in the All-Russia Communist Party (Bolshevik) Central Committee on 23 May of the same year—a compilation of the crudest fabrications and attacks on the Communist Party and its leadership. Only the death of Stalin and the exposure of Beriya and, in addition, the shrewdness of Antanas Snechkus helped him and his associates escape repression.

The years of 1945-1953 were the darkest and most tragic period in Lithuania's history. But we remember this time not only in order to uncompromisingly condemn the crimes and pay tribute to the memory of the victims. We, Lithuania's present-day communists, must create conditions which ensure that the dreadful past never, as we have already stressed, be repeated. The formation of a state based on the rule of law is the surest guarantee that those times will not return.

Many positive changes were made in the activity of the republic party organization by the 20th CPSU Congress. Having exposed Stalin's personality cult, it created important prerequisites for the restoration of democratic standards and the manifestation of people's social and political assertiveness. Then followed a thaw, during which much was done also. New, vigorous forces, representatives of the intelligentsia primarily, joined the party

at that time in the hope that it was in the ranks of the Communist Party that they would be in a position to do more for the good of Lithuania. But the roots of the command and administrative system were still not undermined. The conservative forces closed ranks, and there was no real opposition. Stagnation, which was keenly reflected in Lithuania also, reigned for a long time in all walks of life.

We would be doing wrong both in respect of the Lithuanian CP and its leadership at that time were we not to recall that under those conditions the republic party organization tried to act creatively. With great experience, the Lithuanian CP succeeded in many respects in preserving a conditionally independent position in the economic and social spheres, which was not the case in the other Baltic republics. It was this which helped Lithuania avoid hypertrophied industrialization representing a danger to national distinctiveness and, to a certain extent, the sense of proprietor in the farmer. In turn, the independent solution of topical problems of cultural development contributed to the preservation of a normal atmosphere in many artistic organizations and outfits. But the atmosphere of obsequiousness toward superiors of various levels and the avoidance of acute problems which reigned in the country had a negative effect on the activity of the communists and those in sympathy with them.

The growing public apathy came to be attended by its inevitable concomitants—egotistic and, at times, corrupt concern even for one's own well-being, a consumerist attitude toward society and hypocrisy. Like rust, they destroyed the entire social and political organism from within.

What can be said about the path of the Lithuanian CP prior to perestroyka? It is not enough to mention that it was not strewn with roses. The almost 70-year path was not only complex but frequently tragic also.

And all is reflected in the biographies and fate not only of our outstanding party leaders—Vintsas Mitskyavichyus-Kapsuskas, Karolis Pozhela and Antanas Snechkus—but of a whole number of other communists also. It is easier to say: Contradictory times, hence, contradictory personalities. However, let us think how many internal torments and difficult collisions fell to the lot of these people.

The path leading to the present was difficult and contradictory. The anti-Stalinist spirit of perestroyka born in the Khrushchev times prepared the social environment for the revolution in thinking which occurred in April 1985. This was the frontier at which two trends predominant in the party and in society entered into decisive confrontation. It may be maintained that one of them was dogmatic and conservative, and the other, reformist and progressive, whose energy, built up in the vise of a regime becoming deadened over the decades, burst out as the phenomenon of perestroyka.

Today we have reached what is at first sight a paradoxical situation. The materialization of the ideas of perestroyka has encountered a party structure which has become ossified over the decades as well as the methods, forms of work, and the system of mutual relations of command centralism.

Crisis manifestations, particularly in the last years of Pyatras Grishkyavichyus' leadership, emerged in the republic party organization—an organic part of our society. It is no secret that there was complacency, given that compared with other republics both the socioeconomic and social and political situations were far better in Lithuania and that, consequently, there was no need for fundamental restructuring. The disparity between such assessments and actual public opinion contributed in the republic to a growth of tension and inevitably brought closer the denouement in the confrontation of the conservative and reformist trends.

Some of Lithuania's communists found a way out in the public movements, the most popular being the Lithuanian movement for perestroyka, "Sajudis." The attempts to smooth out differences in opinions by strong assessments of the actions of such communists in documents of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee and the Central Committee Bureau caused even greater estrangement. This was the situation the republic's communists found themselves in on the eve of the 19th All-Union Party Conference. However, its preparation, the choice of delegates and, unfortunately, the meager results compared with expectations failed to stabilize the processes occurring in the party. The 1988 elections in the city and rayon party organizations showed that the majority of communists aspire more to radical change in the party and society than the Lithuanian CP Central Committee and the leadership of the CPSU. The deepening of this contradiction, bearing in mind the rapid process of national revival, against the background of the past and dynamic present of the party threatened it with a loss of influence in society.

A change could not have failed to have occurred, and this happened last October. There was a change in the leadership of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee. The orientation of the party changed also—a natural understanding of the party's purpose in a democratizing society gained the ascendancy. The essence of this understanding was expressed in concentrated form in the Lithuanian CP motto "The People's Plans Are the Party's Plans!"

It should be noted that appreciable changes in the sphere of party activity occurred after there had been a considerable stimulation of the primary party organizations. Now also this constitutes the general backdrop against which the new style of activity of the Lithuanian CP is taking shape. Of course, leftovers of the inertia of the period of stagnation are still noticeable in the activity of various party components but they no longer exert a

decisive influence on the development of events. The party organizations have reached a new level of their independence.

This change does not mean that the crisis processes in the party have disappeared. Almost 10 times fewer persons have been accepted as party candidates this year than in 1987. Some communists have taken the extreme step—handed in their party cards. Almost 5,000 persons quit the party in 1988-1989.

Some party members do not intend to remain. Why has this happened? Attractiveness, which is essential for each organization, has not been a hallmark of our party, unfortunately. Coercion, diktat, a command style and a reluctance to take stock of the opinion of the party rank and file have long been more characteristic of party life than the voluntary approach, a friendly attitude and tolerance of another's opinion. The communists' endeavor to make their organization more humane developed into hundreds of proposals in the course of preparations for the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th All-Union Party Conference. Since they were virtually disregarded, these proposals became the basis for the preparation of the draft Lithuanian CP Statute. What can be said about them?

The party organization contemplates primarily an enhancement of the role of the individual in the party. In declaring independence the Lithuanian CP will rely on voluntary, individual membership—this is the sole possible basis for raising personal responsibility. The discipline characteristic of each organization must not be imposed but based on good will and a sense of responsibility. The statute must not only declare but also propose ways in which the primary organizations should become the real basis of the party. A new mechanism of democratic supervision of the activity of the higher party authorities is planned. The core of the program documents prepared for the 20th Lithuanian CP Congress is democracy and an ideological platform elaborated on the basis of the principles of values common to all mankind and based on Marxist dialectics. The main thing here is the priority of the interests of the people and the nation in relation to ideological guidelines and political structures. For the purpose of the democratization and humanization of all spheres of public life we oppose in the program and statute the ideologization of economic activity, culture and information and support their natural development. While having its own view of the system of values, the party does not pretend to a monopoly of the truth and justice. Political pluralism is a basic prerequisite of democracy. Political power is won only by way of democratic elections. We wish to see our party as a community of active, energetic and free-thinking individuals and an organization whose political course will be shaped with the participation of all its members.

We are becoming a political organization operating in society through its members. Economic matters are not discussed at plenums, and meetings of party and economic activists are not being convened. Although it is not necessary to adhere to a strict timetable for meetings, the communists have this year held considerably more of them than in preceding years. We are paying more attention to the solution of social and political processes. A revision of the functions of the party, soviet, and economic- planning bodies and their separation is under way. Pluralism of opinions in the party is becoming a customary occurrence.

A fundamental change in the party's personnel policy is sensed. The basis of such work hitherto has been a strictly centralized system of control of the personnel hierarchy. If outstanding personalities have grown up within its framework, it is only by having broken it. The principle whereby the same persons, frequently of limited capabilities but firmly entrenched in the party schedule thanks to a clean resume, were moved from chair to chair is becoming a thing of the past. They impeded the vital process of cadre renewal. Openness, glasnost, and competition are gradually coming to reign. However, it would be a mistake to maintain that this process has already been conclusively regulated. It is necessary essentially to dismantle the party schedule mechanism which has existed for many years, and this has already begun. Two-thirds of gorkom [city committee] and raykom [rayon party committee] secretaries have been changed, and approximately 60% of them were elected on a choice basis. Many former secretaries cut short their term of authority at their own reqest or on the initiative of the elective bodies and also the primary organizations.

Fundamental changes in the activity of the Lithuanian CP and its Central Committee manifested in the new style of relations with the primary party components and in other areas of party work have given rise to ambivalent and frequently aggressively critical evaluations. Making the right decisions under conditions of constant pressure from left and right is understandably difficult. The majority of them have been the result of social compromise. This is also where the natural moderation in respect of various extremes comes from. On the other hand, there has been a certain pressure from above and an urging from below for the adoption of radical decisions. In this situation the Lithuanian CP Central Committee has constantly reminded the party members of the "red line" beyond which the instability of society could become dangerous.

Dear comrades, three basic positions were ascertained in the course of preparing for the congress as regards the future of the republic party organization. Practically all who took part in the debate are agreed that the current status of the Lithuanian CP does not correspond to present-day requirements. The republic party organizations advocate the independence of the Lithuanian CP at this level or the other.

The first position, which, as the studies we have conducted, city and rayon party conferences and regional

meetings with delegates show, is approved by the majority of communists of Lithuania. The Lithuanian CP is seen as an independent party with its own program and statutes and organizational and economic independence. It bases its relations with the CPSU Central Committee and the republic communist parties on forms in keeping with the realities of life and the transitional period.

The second and third positions are extreme ones, in my opinion. One of them announces that the party must detach itself completely from the CPSU, and if any relations are maintained with it at all, they are maintained only as with a foreign party. The essence of the other view is that the Lithuanian CP as an integral part of the CPSU operates within the framework of the CPSU Program and Statutes and expands the rights of the republic party organization.

I believe that the congress, having, as a whole, supported the opinion of the majority reflected in the first approach, could help the party become strong and cohesive. This is essential for the accomplishment of the tasks of economic independence, state sovereignty and the surmounting of the social crisis. It should not be forgotten that, aside from all else, it would be more difficult, given a split, to compete with other parties in the elections and in parliament.

The organizational principles of the new Lithuanian CP statute providing for the rights of the minority may also serve such cohesion. The congress could discuss and determine quotas of their representation in the elective party authorities. All this would make it possible to carry on polemics within the party with various positions, which is the basis of its viability. This would thereby unite us for further work. Having evaluated all this, let us ask ourselves once again whether a split in the Lithuanian CP would be to our advantage. I am profoundly convinced that it would not!

The image of the new Lithuanian CP acquired real outline at the 18th Plenum of the Central Committee. Further debate in the party reinforced more strongly our aspiration to change. This debate was encouraged also by documents of the CPSU Central Committee which evaluate the situation in all the Baltic republics.

Lithuania's communists have not remained impartial toward the results of the meeting of members of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and the Lithuanian CP Central Committee Bureau. Discussion at the 22d Plenum of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee of the letter of Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to the communists of Lithuania showed that a new model for political relations of the republic communist parties with the center of the country is possible and necessary. Relations based on mutual respect, restraint, responsibility for the consequences of one's actions and words, and a high standard of communication. It has to be recognized that this is already being realized. However, the central authorities do not always base their opinion of Lithuania on a sufficiently in-depth analysis.

I invite the respected delegates to formulate and adopt proposals for the 28th CPSU Congress. In our opinion, the possibility of the speediest convening of this congress should be discussed at the next CPSU Central Committee plenum. It would be expedient in the very near future also to publish drafts of the new CPSU program and statutes. The central union administrative authorities should be formed on a parity basis, and the Politburo, from representatives of all the communist parties. The republic communist parties could establish direct relations and sign the corresponding agreements with foreign communist, socialist, social democratic and other democratic parties.

The independence of the Lithuanian CP is not a severing of ties or a split, as some people would like to impose on us, deliberately confusing problems and concepts. It is independence which is the basis of the new, equal, mutually profitable relations with the CPSU and the republic communist parties. Incidentally, the bulk of delegates to our congress who were polled supported such a prospect. Only an independent Lithuanian CP could make a serious contribution to the renewal of the CPSU and the whole communist movement and perestroyka in the country and outside.

Understandably, the emergence of an Lithuanian CP of a new type and later, we hope, communist parties of the other republics will require a radical restructuring of the CPSU. Lithuania's communists are convinced that their steps along the path of independence are not in conflict with the general spirit of the restructuring of the CPSU and could be taken as a possible model for its renewal. On the other hand, the new cooperation between the Lithuanian CP and the CPSU will bring about a recognition of the status of an independent Lithuanian CP. The possibility of Lithuania's communists participating in the 28th CPSU Congress will predetermine the further development of their mutual relations.

A most serious problem today is the Soviet Army. I would not want it to be seen today merely as having been fabricated by some people or other. It is evidently dictated by life itself.

The role of the Soviet Army in the fate of Lithuania is ambiguous, and the frequent non-regulation treatment of the young men of the republic, and, particularly, their deaths, are contributing to tension among the inhabitants. People are no longer willing to put up with the shortcomings. It is essential that these problems be resolved, but without impulsiveness and with everything having been well thought out and considered.

It is essential to highlight two main aspects here.

First, under the conditions of the restoration of Lithuania's statehood it is frequently maintained that the Soviet Army should be withdrawn from the republic and

replaced by national formations. The status of the army should be precisely determined. We need to think about this and seek advice, including from the USSR Supreme Soviet, the government, and the Defense Ministry. This work is already under way. A corresponding decree of the LiSSR Supreme Soviet has been adopted and government negotiations with Comrade Yazov, minister of defense, have taken place. These problems were recently analyzed at a meeting of USSR people's deputies with leaders of the Defense Ministry. Opinions did not coincide on all things, but it is important that a start was made and that there have been some, albeit small, improvements. Questions of the army cannot be resolved without considering the defense interests of Lithuania and the whole union and military parity in Europe and throughout the world. We are currently surrounded by friendly states, but the stability of Lithuania's state borders, about which we have shown concern in the past, will be important in the future also. It is difficult, therefore, at the present time at least, to imagine the country's noncentralized defenses. You will agree that it is impossible to decide these matters with respect to one republic without changes having been made throughout the union.

The second aspect concerns the problem of the military service of our young men and their protection. The first steps in this respect have been taken in the republic. A Supreme Soviet commission has been set up. The system for medical inspection of the new recruits has been tightened considerably. Orphans or young men with families are left or transferred to serve in the Baltic Military District, and it is planned to send them to the units to do their service in large groups. Clearly, this is merely the start of a great deal of work.

We cannot fail to see in the alignment of political forces the interests of the working class. They must be reflected more profoundly in the party's political activity. At the same time particular significance in the unions' work today is attached to the defense of their specific, economic and social interests. Unions in renewal should detach themselves from ideological and economic functions. Only by having become independent can they regain the working people's trust.

There is no doubt as to the importance of whether the young people of Lithuania support the party's new policy. The times of administrative rule and command of the youth and the youth organizations must not be repeated. We need to take account of the social, economic, political, and cultural requirements of the young person or various youth organizations and strive to ensure that a correct state policy in respect of the youth be consolidated.

Having set out on an independent path, Lithuania's Komsomol [Leninist Communist Youth League] is actively looking for a place in the political system. This is a difficult step, which is undoubtedly influencing our self-determination also. The Lithuanian CP has an interest in seeking stronger political ties to Lithuania's Komsomol. The renewal of the party is hardly possible without the active participation and support of the youth. The development of all our ideas and decisions will depend on this.

The state assertiveness of policy in the field of art and culture characteristic of socialism—which, in our opinion, had and has a grain of reason—has, like the entire concept of socialism also, been deformed into ideological diktat in the sphere of culture. Exercising a monopoly of the rights of a patron of culture, the state has in fact increasingly materially limited the natural requirements of the development of culture. The dogmatic development of policy in the sphere of culture has led to the culture policy of the party and the state having become an increasingly hampering and down-grading one and therefore an anti-cultural policy to a considerable extent. The anti-democratic diktat of the sole correct and therefore sole permitted and obligatory ideology in the sphere of culture limited it, but did not to any great extent under Lithuania's conditions essentially halt the development of either professional art or science and education.

In creating a sovereign, democratic Lithuania we must at the same time unite not only a society of conscious citizens of a free republic, people who have attained to a civilized lifestyle, but also of cultural personalities, cultural relations, humanitarian spirituality, and morality common to all mankind. Such a society should essentially be distinguished from both the down-grading of primitive communism and models of the consumer society. This could be called a cultured society.

The new look of the Lithuanian CP declares the distinctiveness of national culture. While restoring to this concept the significance of principal landmark of the revival of culture, we cannot make an absolute of it. While a most important pillar of spirituality at this stage of perestroyka, distinctiveness is not, for all that, a panacea for all the ailments which have taken a hold of culture. For this reason neither can the formation of national self-awareness be an end in itself, and it particularly may not be wrested away from the ideals of humanitarian, moral culture and values common to all mankind.

The restoration of the national content of national culture must not enshrine therein ethnic narrowness, encourage a false pride in everything Lithuanian and artificially close off our culture to the spiritual integration occurring in the world. We are not talking about cosmopolitan culture but about an exchange of the best achievements in art, scientific creativity, and culture which is natural, free, and essential for the progress of each nation.

Today and in the very near future Lithuania's international relations should acquire real significance. The present system of representation of the republic's interests overseas absolutely fails to satisfy us. The Lithuanian CP advocates the republic's active participation in

the work of international organizations and their subdivisions via the opening of various offices overseas, particularly in countries of the Baltic region and where immigrants from Lithuania live. Economic, scientific, cultural, tourist, and other relations of the republic with foreign countries and their organizations should develop on the basis of the republic constitution and bilateral relations.

There is no doubt that we need to continue and develop the ties to our present partners overseas which have taken shape traditionally.

We emphatically support the democratization and humanization of international relations. It is important to avoid disruptions of people's personal contacts, and questions of their entry and exit and unimpeded movement should be decided on the basis of international law and treaties.

An inalienable and indivisible part of our people are those living in exile. We comprehensively support and encourage cooperation with Lithuanians living abroad in all spheres of social and political, economic, and cultural life.

The new attitude toward society, democratization, and political pluralism is in itself changing the guidelines of the party's ideological work. The essence of this is the truth, historical objectivity, a renunciation of dogmatism and apologetics, and tolerance in respect of different philosophies and perceptions of the world and, together with this, the unacceptability of chauvinism and nationalism and political demagogy and extremism. Such might be the general features of the ideological activity of each communist and each party organization.

It is hereby essential to release the social sciences from political determinism, scholasticism, and ideologization, raise them to the level of basic research and create the conditions for scholars to avail themselves of archives and genuine historical, economic, social, and sociological material. It is necessary to restructure the whole system of political education and party training. It is particularly important to train political science specialists, that is, transfer ideological work to a professional level.

The new phenomena in the party and society and the popularization of its interests and aims are being extensively reflected by our periodical publications, television, and radio. They have done much for the development in the republic of democracy and glasnost, contributing to the increase in public assertiveness and making available a platform for various opinions. The new press of the public movements and organizations has subscribed to this also. Proposals which merit attention are being put forward concerning imparting the status of newspapers of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee to a number of publications and, their departmental dependence being abandoned, to the soviet authorities.

The complex process of perestroyka is not always being reflected objectively in the press. There are many rash, superficial commentaries, facts are sometimes distorted and there is a marked absence of tolerance of a different opinion. More unwarranted charges have come to be leveled at the Communist Party and its members in the press, the new press particularly. In turning unknown pages of the recent past some publications have nonetheless been unable to remain objective and have rushed to the opposite extreme: The Soviet period is evaluated entirely negatively and nihilistically, and the anti-Soviet postwar resistance is idealized. This is causing a contradictory response in society and is not contributing to its cohesion in the name of the most important goals of renovation.

It is essential in Lithuanian CP ideological activity in respect of the development of philosophical pluralism to continue the dialogue which has begun between believers and nonbelievers and cooperation with the church in the sphere of the preservation of values, a sober lifestyle, charity, and other fields which are relevant to society. This does not mean that communists are abandoning the materialist world outlook. It will remain, but will not be a screen for party membership. The priority of values common to all mankind could be strengthened by the close and fruitful ties of the church and culture and the nurturing of the principles of spirituality and humanity in society. We also need to remember the communists who in the times of stagnation suffered for their tolerant attitude toward the church and for the humane content of their activity.

At the same time, however, this does not mean that atheism, which reflects the orientation of a part of society, will be ignored. However, its exaggerated concept of state ideology is rejected.

Each party, one operating within the framework of a multiparty system particularly, is obliged to have a program for activity in all spheres, the socioeconomic sphere included. I would like now to set forth just the main idea of the economic program.

First, implementing the concept of the republic's economic independence, having abandoned the command-administrative management of the economy, with transition to a market economy and the equality of all forms of ownership.

Second, pursuing an active social policy based on the principles of social justice. Creating guarantees for health care, education and provision of the population with housing.

Third, practicing constitutional laws regulating the rights and duties of participants in the economy. They will have to guarantee the material and spiritual well-being of the inhabitants of Lithuania and do away with any arbitrary distribution and alienation of national income which has been created. Legislative initiative should be recognized for all parties and alliances.

Fourth, restructuring the management of the economy. Adopting economic decisions only at the level which is best informed and capable of action. Only the shaping of official economic policy and the organization of its realization, taking the system of economic interests as the basis, should belong to the highest level of management.

Fifth, decentralizing and demonopolizing the economy and realizing local self-management.

Fundamental transformations should encompass primarily the lower components—the enterprises. They should be oriented toward market demand. The best engine of the economy will be the threat of bankruptcy on the one hand and economic interests on the other. The market which is being created will encourage the manufacturers to orient themselves toward those who work better and satisfy consumers' requirements to the greatest extent. Prices must reflect cost and balance supply and demand. The prerequisites for a stabilization of inflationary processes will emerge under the conditions of economic independence. This is our priority task. The ways of tackling it are outlined by the action program prepared by the Lithuanian CP Central Committee, which could be the basis for further work.

Our common concern is the working man. For all that is of value we are grateful to the strata of society which have not succumbed to the rash instructions and clamorous agitation and exhortation from high platforms. Despite the complea and at times difficult conditions, our workers, representatives of various professions, have selflessly created the social product of which we all avail ourselves.

The peasant has always believed in the land and understood that he would by honest and conscientious toil procure bread for himself and others and afford an opportunity for a normal life. Lithuania's communists have as far as possible defended the peasant and displayed concern for the countryside. Their efforts have not been in vain, but there is no reason for rejoicing either. We can today claim that we have maintained the level from which the renaissance of the Lithuanian countryside will begin.

Now, however, when vigorous processes of restructuring have begun in society, it would be irresponsible to immediately chart the landmarks of the development of the countryside and promise mountains of gold. Our guideline is as follows: The countryside and the experience and historical wisdom of Lithuania's peasants are the environment in which the tree of the republic's independence should be cultivated. The countryside is for us not just the creator of good things and our breadwinner.

Thinking about the future of the countryside, the party supports all forms of ownership which make the farmer the real master of the means of production and encourage independence, enterprise, and initiative. It advocates equal economic opportunities for the kolkhozes [collective farms], state farms and agrofirms, agro-commercial farms, joint-stock enterprises and companies, cooperatives, peasant farms, and other financially autonomous outfits being formed on the basis thereof. And people's wish to themselves determine how they work and live.

The party deems it necessary to accord agriculture priority on a state scale and protect the farmers' interests by economic and social measures. The main incentive for the development of production should be mutual competition, cooperative and integration relations and a flexible price and taxation policy. The new structure of agricultural management which is being created, in keeping with present-day requirements, as a whole, will, in our opinion, encourage the strengthening of agriculture.

At the same time, however, it is important when economic problems are being discussed not to forget one thing. Our economy is closely related to the union economy. Raw material, components and units, retail commodities and grain are imported from other republics and constitute one-third of the material resources used in Lithuania. We export almost as much to other republics. Walking into independence in rope sandals is a declaration one hears at mass meetings. It will be necessary in the future also to cooperate closely with the economic structures of the vast country. Chopping off relations immediately would be foolish, although people like to make noises about this here. Only with a strong economy capable of moving onto the world market can we think about real sovereignty.

Many problems need to be solved in the social sphere. It is important for us to find solutions which correspond to requirements in the sphere of culture and education and health care and in the provision of Lithuania's inhabitants with apartments.

A most urgent issue both in the republic and in the country is national relations. The Stalinist doctrine of merging nations, counterposing the class and national principles, was theoretically unsubstantiated and reactionary in practice and brought all peoples great misfortunes. The Lithuanian national revival has given rise to the national self-determination of the representatives of all nations living in Lithuania and the emergence of national-cultural societies. National culture and its protection and preservation are the basis for realizing of a free political life and developing democracy.

Under conditions where there has been a rapid change in priorities and a transition from pseudo-internationalism to national-cultural pluralism, the greatest importance in which is undoubtedly attached to the aspirations of Lithuanian national culture, there has hereby been some exacerbation of the contradictions between the peoples. This is understandable and natural, and these contradictions will be resolved only by democratic legal measures under the conditions of a stable economy and social

justice. It is this route which we are taking, and we will to this end endeavor to realize the National Minorities Act.

Despite its difficult history, Lithuania has always been tolerant of other nations. In the postwar years the Poles, Russians and certain other nations have had particular conditions to preserve their cultural distinctiveness. Now we need to develop all this further, and not exacerbate contradictions, which may only be overcome in unison in the democratization of society and stabilization of the economy. We have said repeatedly that in restoring the natural priorities of the Lithuanian people on their native soil we are in no way opposed to the other nations living in Lithuania. Lithuania has been and will continue to be multinational. Poles, Russians, Jews, Belorussians, Tatars, Karaimy, Ukrainians, Letts and other peoples have lived fraternally here since ancient times. We propose preservation of such relations. Only those who are against democracy, social equality, pluralism, and independence can prevent this. At the same time it has to be said self-critically that we have not hitherto seriously looked into the interests of the Poles of Lithuania and their natural requirements. It has to be acknowledged that as far as the Poles living in Lithuania are concerned we are as yet pursuing a policy based on declaratory moralizing. It is primarily we Lithuanians who should be interested in the shaping of the intelligentsia of the Poles, Russians and people of other nationalities living in Lithuania, nurturing culture and values common to all mankind and consolidating the nations. Such aims of the communists should become the basis for the unification of all peoples living in Lithuania in the business of the creation of a democratic society.

A national feeling is natural for a man because it is inherited from his parents, imbibed with his mother's milk, heard in her lullaby and expressed in the first words which the child speaks to his parents and the world. Internationalism and friendship of the peoples are concepts created by the intellect. They are very much needed by the modern world, but less significant for man himself. Therefore we communists cannot ignore the national stimuli in the process of perestroyka.

However, we appeal to all the nations living in Lithuania: "All nations, unite so that perestroyka may conquer!" Why? Because Lithuania is entering a very important stage of development. Economic independence has been accorded not only Lithuanians but also all of Lithuania, in which people of other nationalities constitute 20%. Unless they go together with the Lithuanian people, in whose name our republic lives, we will not make progress in perestroyka and economic independence. We word our conclusion thus because we must substantiate our resolve with all the peoples living in Lithuania. I am saying this to us Lithuanians, who frequently exaggerate our exclusive significance forgetting the good old traditions of the community of nations on Neman soil. Let us not exaggerate our grievances, of which there were many in the past, if we wish to have a tranquil future. Let us not turn our back on our neighbors if we wish to have their support.

The Lithuanian CP supports the concepts of the national school, national culture and Lithuanian scholarship. Naturally, priority is accorded Lithuanian national traditions, but we are pleased that their creators think about the cultural self-expression of all peoples living in Lithuania. It is important that the concept of the national school has from scientific institutions already reached the teachers, fired parents with the ideas of the national education of the youth and mobilized state, public, and religious authorities. We look forward with big hopes to the upcoming congress of cultural workers of Lithuania, which will collate the results of the creation and realization of the concept of national culture and chart new landmarks. The process of the development of culture is multifaceted, and for this reason past and present, the people and religion and one nation with all nations are subtly and intricately interwoven in it. The more thoughts which are expressed, the greater the ease of conscience with which we can maintain that we are traveling the right road.

The Lithuanian CP intends to march with the Lithuanian people and all peoples living in Lithuania into the new tomorrow.

We are living at a time of great expectations. An unduly polarized society will hardly be capable of successfully tackling the quite complex tasks which confront it both in the economic and social spheres and in the sphere of policy, ideology and culture, and even the winning party at the elections will hardly be capable of accomplishing them. It is impossible to introduce democracy and a pluralist economy and normalize national problems with only the aid of the authorities. For this reason a particular ideological and political accord in society which is above interparty contradictions, the political struggle and the interests of individual strata is necessary, in our view. The form of such an agreement might be, for example, a united front, which would incorporate representatives of various political forces and national groups. Its ideological platform would be questions in respect of which there is practically no disagreement in society: restoration of Lithuania's statehood, social justice, human rights, democracy, glasnost, and so forth. These would be the parameters of a humane, democratic socialism. In the immediate future a united front could be the basis of the formation of a coalition for the realization of Lithuanian statehood.

Sociological research testifies that the idea of such a united front is well-founded. Thus 58% of people are disinclined to oppose candidates of the Lithuanian CP and "Sajudis" at the coming elections. Some 77.4% support socialism.

The fact that practically all the parties, movements, and public organizations which exist in Lithuania are declaring the same or close ultimate goals is also a definite basis. It is merely the ways and methods of their achievement which differ. Therefore at the transitional stage even different political forces could act together. A united front, if it were really united and consolidated

Lithuania, would be a pretty good counterweight to any outside attempts to limit our achievements.

The practicability of such a concept is confirmed by the history of the European states which have switched quite rapidly from totalitarian to democratic forms of government.

Following political science theory, three stages which have to be negotiated, if we recognize the prospective nature of such a front, should be discussed here.

The first is the diversity and polarization of political forces causing a certain tension. This is the stage we are at currently.

The second is the decisive stage, which may be seen as an expedient arrangement making it possible by cohesive efforts to tackle tasks which are urgent and vitally important for the republic.

Realization of the idea of a united front at the second stage creates the prerequisites for transition to the third stage, when, with the aid of a professional parliament and a renewed machinery of administration, the economic and political situation in the republic is stabilized.

The roots of the idea of national unity, a single stream and a popular front go back to 1863. It was subsequently advanced by the AUSHRA and developed by the VARPAS people. It was alive in the ranks of the social democrats. Victory at the elections in independent Lithuania was won on the basis of this idea, but the authoritarian regime of Antanas Smetona in 1926 halted the further development of a pluralist multiparty system. It was from these standpoints that the Smetona regime was criticized by the majority of intellectuals and public figures of that time and consistent supporters of a popular front.

History cannot be rewritten. It reminds us, unfortunately, that at all times Lithuania and Lithuanians have most lacked unity and the ability to come together. Now history has given us one more chance, having united, to achieve the goals which Lithuania has set us. Evaluating all our internal and external factors, there is evidently no other way.

The communist rank and file and the primary party organizations are today in a difficult situation. What can be said about this in the course of restructuring of our party? No fruitless meetings, no empty politicking. In a word, we need to be ourselves. We should not be waiting for directions, instructions, and resolutions. It is essential to perform only real and specific work, be useful to people and bring them together to tackle the most important tasks! This is the most important policy today.

I believe that the entire diversity of opinions reflecting our society will be expressed about the past, present, and future of Lithuania's communists. Let us listen to one another and listen to ourselves. Let us recognize our responsibility. We do not have the right to postpone decisions for which all of Lithuania is waiting.

Thank you for your attention!

Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Presidium Meets 18 Dec

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[Text] A meeting of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the LiSSR [Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic] chaired by Vitautas Astrauskas, chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, was held on 18 December.

The Presidium resolved that the 17th session of the 11th Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet could be convened on 30 January 1990. Its agenda is to be announced.

The question of convening a referendum was discussed. As is known, an action committee proposed putting to a referendum the question of whether drafted soldiers who are not Lithuanian SSR citizens may take part in the elections. More than 400,000 persons supported a referendum. However, the requirements of the Referendum Act were not universally observed when the signatures were collected. The Presidium therefore resolved to communicate this to the action committee and proposed that the shortcomings be rectified within 15-days. The final ruling on compliance with the referendum regulations will be made by a commission specially formed for this consisting of Yustinas Antanaytis, Valeriyonas Kubilyus, Pranas Kuris, Kyastutis Lapinskas, Ionas Misyunas, Kazimeras Moteka, Lyaonas Shpokyavichyus and Yuozas Zhilis. After the action committee has rectified the shortcomings which have been determined and the commission has submitted its findings, the Supreme Soviet Presidium will decide on the question of convening a session of the Supreme Soviet. This session, the 16th, might be held on 5 January.

The meeting approved the Lithuanian SSR draft law on the press and other mass media and resolved to publish it for public discussion.

Initial draft laws on the procedure for settling collective labor disputes (conflicts), the police, and the structure of the Lithuanian SSR budget prepared by working groups were approved, and Supreme Soviet standing commissions were instructed to examine these drafts and submit their findings to the Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Many observations and proposals were expressed in connection with the draft Lithuanian SSR law on self-management. The Presidium resolved to form a working group to prepare the draft of this law from scratch and charged it with submitting the final version to the Supreme Soviet Presidium prior to 1 January 1990.

Additions and alterations to the Litahuanian SSR Criminal Code and the Lithuanian SSR Code of Administrative Violations were submitted. An edict was issued which provides for stricter administrative and criminal liability for profiteering, cheating the citizens and selling

commodities from trade and public catering enterprise warehouses and depots and also for hoarding and other actions.

The Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium registered the USSR law on "Economic Independence of the Lithuanian SSR, Latvian SSR, and Estonian SSR." Other USSR laws and decrees of the USSR Supreme Soviet and USSR Council of Ministers which will be enforced in the republic were also registered.

In order to increase public interest in the preservation of the culture and history of the former Lithuania Minor and concern for the culture and education of the Lithuanians living there and also to focus and organize this work, the Supreme Soviet Presidium confirmed the rules and personnel of a Council for the Affairs of Lithuania Minor, which will operate under the auspices of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. The council incorporates people working in culture, science, and education and public figures of the Lithuanian SSR and Kaliningrad Oblast.

By an edict of the Supreme Soviet Presidium Lyaonas Ryauba was relieved of his duties as minister of trade.

The meeting discussed questions of awards, pardons, and other issues of social life.

Lithuanian Soviet Independence Committee Meets

90UN0655A Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 29 Dec 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "In the Commissions of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium"]

[Text] The first meeting of the Commission To Prepare a Plan for the Independence of Lithuania, set up under the Lithuanian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet, took place on 27 December. The meeting was chaired by Algirdas Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee and one of the five leaders of the collegium of this commission. The meeting discussed organizational matters and it was decided to set up four working committees to study the economic, political (domestic and foreign relations), and cultural spheres of life in the republic and make specific recommendations for preparation of a plan for the restoration of Lithuania's independence. Members of the collegium of commission chairmen were appointed leaders of these groups. It was decided to hold the next meeting on 4 January 1990.

A joint session of several of the standing commissions of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet was held the same day. The commission for legislative proposals, the planning and budget commission, the commission for the agro-industrial complex, and also the commission for construction and the construction materials industry, discussed drafts of the republic laws on "Procedures for Resolving Collective Labor Disputes (Conflicts)" and the law on the militia in the Lithuanian SSR.

In addition, the commission for legislative proposals together with the commission for public education and culture reviewed the Lithuanian SSR draft law on the press and the other mass media. Deputies in the main approved the draft legislation and submitted comments and additions that should be taken into consideration as the legislative drafts are finalized. With the participation of the commission on housing and municipal services, approval was given for a draft Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Ukaze "On Changing Article 68 of the Lithuanian SSR Housing Code," which regulates more clearly the right of trusteeship over the living space of the trustee.

The commission also approved changes and amendments that it planned to submit on the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium 28 July 1989 ukaze "On the Rehabilitation of Persons Convicted of Certain Acts."

Lithuanian Plenum Discusses Party Status

90UN0585B Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 5 Dec 89 pp 2, 3

[Unattributed report: "Debates at 22d Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania"]

[Text] The chairman of the commission for party control under the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania, Stasis Apanavichyus, noted in his speech that it is necessary to fight for party authority through concrete deeds and proposed approving the program of actions for the Communist Party of Lithuania that was prepared for the congress. This, in his opinion, includes the only constructive document, tactics, and immediate goals of our activity. He sees the following real prospects for Lithuania: A unified ideological-organizational platform of the CPSU, that is, a common program and regulations but independent tactics that correspond to local conditions and specific features, that is, independent activity, including a program of immediate actions. He thinks that this is the only way it will be possible to maintain unity of the ranks at the next congress of the Communist Party of Lithuania.

A considerable number of the communists, seeing no other way to bring the party out of the crisis, have grasped firmly onto the idea of complete independence, even secession. Unfortunately, there are forces—they are making themselves known at the plenum—to whom not the authority of the Communist Party of Lithuania but the opposite is important. It would be politically nearsighted not to see this. These forces are doing and will continue to do everything possible to cause a split within the party and they are not concealing their goals: Split and disappear. A split would mean self-destruction of the Communist Party of Lithuania.

Let us look at the problem from the other side. Drafts of the program and regulations of the Communist Party of

Lithuania will be adopted at the congress, and this will be not a communist but a social democratic party, or even some variety of a party with a liberal leaning. There arises the question of why these forces have asserted themselves, imposing precisely these documents on us. If they do not like the ideals of the Communist Party would it not be simpler to leave it and enter the Social Democratic Party that is being created. But then it would be necessary to leave the Communist Party of Lithuania alone.

So communists holding a consistent position cannot agree with this and calmly observe the Communist Party being destroyed as its basis, Marxism-Leninism, is being knocked out from beneath it. It seems to me as a communist and to many others as well that this course of events is unacceptable. I am in favor of maintaining the unity of the Communist Party of Lithuania and I feel with all my heart how tragic the consequences and the outcome of a split might be. It seems that there is only one real path for the Communist Party of Lithuania: To be independent but to be a part of the renewed CPSU. And the 28th Party Congress will be a decisive step on the path to renewal.

It seems that such a Communist Party of Lithuania would do more for the independence of the republics and for the good of the people living here and would again gain authority and the confidence of the people. After all, it was precisely this that was emphasized at the September Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, whose decree many people have forgotten for some reason.

The secretary of the party organization of the Union of Lithuanian Writers, Romas Gudaytis, began his speech with a perestroyka phrase that is frequently heard in Moscow in the Supreme Soviet: "This issue, comrades, must be approached with all responsibility, soberly, and with detachment." This is the way he proposed to polemicize about the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of Lithuania and addressed the guest from Moscow, Vadim Medvedev:

"Yesterday you responded in a sober and detached way to what happened in Lithuania in 1940. I heard what I was meant to hear: Nothing happened. I was especially struck by this idea: The people made their choice. All the answers, in your opinion, are in the CPSU platform on the national issue and the decrees of the September Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. You are trying to mobilize us here, to set us on fire. This evokes both respect and surprise. I personally was shaken to the depth of my soul by the fact that the letter from the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee to the people of Lithuania did not mention the year 1940. We have a somewhat different understanding of the crisis, the tragedy of perestroyka and we see the farce of ideology, of perestroyka in words, of agitation. You hold a critical position and think that the Communist Party of Lithuania is already strong enough. It is not easy for you to understand why a considerable share of the communists of Lithuania have their doubts about the national policy of the CPSU and why we have on the agenda a firm resolve and a clear-cut intention to separate from the union party structure, which has become an object of worship, why we have our doubts about the norms of party life that have been in effect for decades, the ideological thoughts, and the theoretical and practical generalizations.

R. Gudaytis spoke about the apparently peaceful atmosphere in which this plenum is taking place. On the square there were only pickets and nothing more. But this, in his opinion, is a deceptive impression: Lithuania is a volcano of passions where political tension has reached its culmination. But the turbulent waves of revolution, national rebirth, and renewal of socialism are rolling from East Germany, Czechoslovakia, and Bulgaria to the passionate, sometimes irreconcilable disputes to which the party must turn and toward which the republic will go further. These waves are washing away the party hierarchy and dogma, the single-party monopoly, and those who are afraid of their own people. The air has become clearer, cleaner, and it is having an effect on the plenum. Therefore the decision not to broadcast the meeting on television was a good one.

Is it a handful of extremists and separatists or communists, honest, hard-working people of Lithuania who need all the historical truth and not just part of it? Is the real independence of Lithuania that same eulogized real sovereignty in a somewhat embellished and balanced federation, in socialist statehood, which was discussed yesterday quite eloquently but extremely abstractly? Is economic independence a favor or a conquest? Finally, this independence is only the first step toward the status of an independent state, to which we have the right as the first compensation for the elimination of our statehood.

R. Gudaytis emphasized that we ourselves must seek the answers to all these questions, for this is not the first time we have heard—and we shall obviously continue to hear—abstract ideas about the republic's sovereignty in the flow of the overall national policy.

Some people assert that we should open the door wide to let people leave the party and then immediately purge it of undesirable elements, of the handful who are thirsting for an independent Communist Party of Lithuania. The speaker noted that the only problem is that this handful has become a significant proportion. We have not managed either to regulate or to halt the discussion with a limited representation of party members at the congress. Who would be represented by a branch of the CPSU in Lithuania that has broken away from the majority? Under our conditions this would mean isolation of this part of the party, its miserly, lilliputian political weight in the multiparty system, which is actually just beginning to function in Lithuania, although there still temporarily exists in Article 6 of the republic's Constitution, which has finally been compromised. This is an area of predictions and it can be attacked with a barrage from all the weapons of perestroyka. But how does one get away from the feeling and the conviction that this will be a fiasco on

the part of those who are trying to avoid taking sides and assert at the congress a clever formulation of the status of the Communist Party of Lithuania: Both an independent party and one which is a part of the CPSU.

The olympian appeals for consolidation and renewal within the renewed CPSU evoke a sweet sadness. Therefore there is no need to speak about the promised peaceful sovereignty of the republic in a somewhat embellished federation, about substantiated explanations of how to reconcile fire and water.

The secretary of the party organization of the Union of Writers said in his conclusion:

I wish to express special delight with one phrase from the decree of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee—that communists have entered the CPSU and therefore the 20th Congress of our party does not have the right to change party membership. It is as if they cut it off with a hatchet. No discussion, even the most democratic, not even the most democratic decision can have force! Excuse me, but when we entered the party we were thinking about the good of Lithuania and its people! And this is the main thing in the decree and the strict order which has been discussed sufficiently to become convinced: We made a correct decision when we decided to create an independent Communist Party of Lithuania. Lulling us with words about the consequences we have not anticipated, about the restructuring of the CPSU and its forthcoming congress, which is still quite some time away, only strengthens this decision even more. If the Communist Party of Lithuania, which helped the neighboring state to bury its own state, today were to take a conciliatory, compromising position that may please some people, this would mean collapse. State independence is not precluded merely by free cooperation and free ties with neighbors, merely by free forms of association of states. Therefore the only path for the communist is to be with the people, with Lithuania in her hour of need.

Like the first secretary of the Shyaylyayskiy raykom of the Communist Party of Lithuania, Vitautas Skripkauskas, we thought that they understood us in the Politburo and supported our position. Today one gets the impression that they want to put all communists of Lithuania in opposition to the bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania and the esteemed Algirdas Brazauskas.

We do not understand, the speaker continued, why re-registration of the independent Communist Party of Lithuania is called a switch to a different party. After all, the Communist Party of Lithuania operates according to the territorial principle and its name is still the Communist Party of Lithuania. Even after the 20th Congress it is still the Communist Party of Lithuania and it does not set the goal of breaking its bond with the CPSU. It wants only to replace vertical dependency with horizontal cooperation, that is, mutually advantageous ties. The more so since, as the leaders of the government and the Communist Party of Lithuania emphasized, today we have no intention of leaving the Soviet Union. People understand that today that would be fatal.

It is erroneously stated in the decree that the Communist Party of Lithuania has no influence over the residents of Lithuania. If that were the case there would not be such an immense interest in the activity of the Communist Party of Lithuania and its future, and communists and nonparty members would not be discussing the fate of the Communist Party of Lithuania on such a large scale in the press. If one draws these conclusions one can say also that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union does not exert an influence on the people since at the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet the people's deputies raised the question of Article 6 of the constitution which speaks of the leading role of the Communist Party. If we have indeed lost this influence at the 20th Congress we must return it to our Communist Party, and the CPSU must do the same thing at its 28th Congress since there is nothing else that can be done. If the republic takes the path of economic independence, the party must not lag behind. It must be independent as well.

The speaker stated that he does not know of a single case where in the decrees of plenums or the bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania the party has been split on the national issue—these are only the conjectures of individual people. For everyone understands that a split in the party would be fatal.

The future of the party is being discussed in the Central Committee today. The speaker suggested paying attention to what was being discussed by the local party organizations. They are discussing where to acquire the most ordinary screws and equipment and other matters from daily life. After all, they should have been thinking about the party's ideological platform. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania and the republic government should relieve party organizations of the task of solving problems of supply and other economic problems. Then perestroyka will really get under way and have real meaning.

Communists in the army are very concerned and alarmed about the fate of the USSR and the integrity of the CPSU—said Valeriy Shurupov, an officer. A number of social-political movements and parties in the republic are manifesting extreme radicalism and trying to dissolve the leading role of the CPSU, and through the idea of the functioning of an independent Communist Party, to transform it in the future into an appendage of the perestroyka processes. Communists themselves are partially to blame for what has happened. But today and at the congress it is necessary to understand that there are values that cannot be abandoned. One of them is the integrity of the CPSU. We assert that the socialism toward which we are moving relies on humanized social structures.

In his speech the speaker drew attention to the fact that the republic allows verbal assaults on military servicemen. The speaker also recalled the action for gathering signatures to hold a referendum to deprive military servicemen of the right to vote. Speaking of party independence outside the CPSU, the speaker noted that this could be called an attempt to introduce organizational confusion or, rather, ideological betrayal of the revolutionary transformations brought about by perestroyka. From the example of the republic Komsomol [Leninist Young Communist League] and now the Estonian Komsomol, we have been convinced that by retaining ideological dogmas and keeping youth in check, we have created an ideological barrier of alienation between party interests and public opinion. Party ideology is now being diluted. But the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania has seen this for a long time and is not paying attention to suggestions from the outside. Sad as it may be, this position has caused a weakening of party influence among all social segments of the population.

V. Shurupov emphasized that the historical segment of time from the institutional congress of Sajudis until the extraordinary 20th Congress of the Communist Party of Lithuania was under the ideological influence of forces who were ideologically opposed to the communists. Initially taking cover under the noble idea of national rebirth, having gathered their dividends from this, they went further and called for a split in the CPSU. Many communists got cold feet after the Sajudis declaration to the effect that in the elections its members would support only those members of the Communist Party of Lithuania who were in favor of complete sovereignty and complete independence of the Communist Party of Lithuania outside the CPSU. The speaker called this ideological pressure on the forthcoming congress. As concerns communists in the military, they are in favor of a unified and undivided CPSU, in favor of integrity and for the economic and defensive might of the USSR. Nonetheless in the proposed party documents one can see a lack of desire to resolutely condemn the provocative attacks against the Soviet Army and protect the Leninist idea of the priority of the party in military construction.

In conclusion V. Shurupov called for the delegates to the congress to take the lead in concrete affairs, to provide an example of ideological devotion, and to worthily bear the title of a member of the CPSU. We military servicemen are going to the congress with the firm conviction that we must not allow a split in the Communist Party of Lithuania and we support the address of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev.

The speeches that have just been heard from this podium should be perceived as a relic of the old system—said the deputy secretary of the party committee at Vilnius University, Povilas Gilis. Instead of performing defense functions, the Army is going into ideology and politics and learning methods of ideological combat. This is not the first time we have heard speeches of this kind and they evoke a negative reaction from the people of Lithuania.

When I think about what is taking place in Lithuania I think about how we can justify the ineffectiveness of our economy and why we are not pointing out clearly enough the factors that are leading to this. We frequently say that we do not have enough good technical equipment. But we very rarely speak about the fact that we do not have a sufficient sense of reality to adopt good decisions. As a professional political scientist I can say that what we have had is not really socialism. At best it is bureaucratic or centrist socialism. Therefore we are faced with the task of creating real socialism. We shall proceed along this path. Obviously the Communist Party of Lithuania will set this task in its program documents as well. It should be clearly stated in them that our goal is a socialist democratic society. Socialism is a society that has solved the problem of material existence. It is a society that operates on the basis of self-management.

We are frequently told to be tolerant of other peoples. It seems to me that the Lithuanians are tolerant enough. We have demonstrated this for centuries. I worked in the department whose head was Professor M. Lola—a Kuban Cossack, a delegate to the 14th party congress, a former sovkhoz 99state farm) director, a prisoner in Stalin's torture chambers, and, finally, the rector of Vilnius University, a man distinguished by great tolerance. Something he said to me once comes to mind: "In our country, the Soviet Union, there can be Ukrainian nationalism, there can be Polish and Jewish and Lithuanian nationalism, but there is no Russian nationalism in our country." This statement gave everyone pause. People who think Lithuanians do not understand the aspirations of other nationalities, their cultural and linguistic problems, should know that we shall show tolerance of other nationalities.

God gave us atheists, Algirdas Brazauskas. We thank heaven for this and we stand under the banner of perestroyka, which will lead us to a free, democratic, and prosperous Lithuania.

When I hear people say that the political situation in Lithuania is very complicated I frequently ask the question: Where is it simple—in Russia, the Ukraine, or perhaps in Georgia—said Lenginas Shepetis, chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet and member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania. The political silence was particularly deceptive at the end of the 20th Century. The largest political upheaval, tantamount to a revolution, took place in the GDR which at first glance appeared to be stable. One of the greatest anachronisms of the age was destroyed there—the Berlin Wall. The international wisdom of perestroyka was manifested there: Not to turn back the wheels of history. Something else tells us of this wisdom as well. If we are seriously concerned about the construction of a common European home it would be a crime not to be concerned about our own native home as well.

I frequently hear the repeated warning: Be concerned about your own home but be very careful since you could cause harm to perestroyka and its authors. Indeed, perestroyka has many enemies. But still it is only a means rather than an end in itself: For some—to be revived, for others—to be renewed, and for still others, possibly, to demonstrate that they are the same as they ever were, that they hold, as it were, "firm positions."

Residents of Lithuania, the Lithuanian people, taking advantage of perestroyka, have called for returning the authenticity to all historical and social values, and they shall resolutely strive to return their never forgotten, suppressed but not destroyed value of values—their lost independence and statehood. Perhaps the Communist Party of Lithuania is standing on the sidelines of this most important goal of the Lithuanian people and all nationalities living in the republic? This is a question which for a whole year now has been unequivocally raised in party and nonparty circles. And the majority respond—no, we must not stand to the side. This is the order that was given to me by communists of Ukmerge who elected me a delegate to the extraordinary 20th Congress of the Communist Party of Lithuania. They clearly stated: The main goal of the Communist Party of Lithuania is an independent, democratic, law-governed, socialist Lithuanian state. Then it will have done its duty. Therefore, I think the main goal of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of Lithuania is to reorganize the Lithuanian party organization of the CPSU into an independent Communist Party of Lithuania which unites the residents of Lithuania of all nationalities who wish to contribute to realizing the aspirations of the Communist Party of Lithuania. This is reflected in the principles of the drafts of the documents of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of Lithuania which reject the subordination of the Communist Party of Lithuania to others and at the same time speak out in favor of constructive, benevolent ties with the CPSU based on partnership and equal rights. Does equality have to mean separatism, does equality have to mean nationalism? It simply means taking on a great deal of responsibility for ourselves, for the society, and for the people. A mistrust of our responsibility and our just desires is one of the typical weak points of those documents of the CPSU with which we are familiarizing ourselves today. Another simply insulting idea is that our congress cannot handle the basic affairs of the Communist Party of Lithuania. So who can do this? It is no secret to anyone that in the discussions that are conducted and at party meetings the communists provide for equal rights of the political parties of Lithuania. Of course this is a bold, nontraditional, and quite modern aspiration. Communists want to change Article 6 of the Lithuanian SSR Constitution concerning the leading role of the Communist Party. The attitude of communists toward the Communist Party of Lithuania is the axis around which the entire course of preparation for the congress revolves. This is the Rubicon which every delegate must cross. A great deal depends on their decisions. Once we are independent we will be able to exert a positive influence on Lithuania and, of course, on the Union. Thus we shall avoid chaos or rebellion. We shall retain the intellectual forces in our ranks. Of course, then people will not want to leave the ranks of the Communist Party of Lithuania as those who are speaking in a different language are suggesting.

The people of Lithuania are experience days of strained expectation. Let us be with them, let us not disappoint them.

I think the discussion will be more meaningful—said the first secretary of the Shilalskiy Raykom [rayon committee] of the Communist Party of Lithuania, Osvaldas Sharmavichyus—if we help to clarify an issue that is bothering everyone: How will relations develop between the Communist Party of Lithuania and the current Communist Party of the Soviet Union? In the decree of the Politburo we find both concern and reproaches. There is not enough benevolence or desire to understand us.

The problem can also be formulated as follows: Shall we proceed together or not, shall we support perestroyka or not? Go into any collective of Zhemaytiya and people will tell you exactly what they think. Yes, perestroyka has given us a great deal: Glasnost, democracy. But if it takes four years for us to be able to utter a free word, how much time will it take for words to be followed by action? Therefore the opinion is becoming more and more firmly entrenched: If there is anyone we can rely on, it is ourselves. Hence the idea of independence.

I do not see any indications that the CPSU is being restructured in real life if we do not count the fact that the Muscovites are no longer teaching us atheism or intensification of agricultural production.

Like the majority of communists of the rayon—O. Sharmavichyus continued—I think that the Communist Party of Lithuania is on the right track and I support the points in the report of A. Brazauskas. A couple of days ago we familiarized the rayon's party aktiv with the Politburo's decree and asked if they had changed their opinion about the future of the Communist Party of Lithuania after our Central Committee bureau visited Moscow. The answer was no. To be quite frank, the question was formulated like this: Either an independent Communist Party of Lithuania in a union of republic Communist Parties with equal rights or a Communist Party of Lithuania outside the current CPSU.

The Politburo decree multiplies the ranks of proponents of the second variant. Is it possible today to reserve a place for an independent Communist Party of Lithuania in the future union of Communist Parties? If the CPSU Central Committee is not yet ready for this discussion this will not stop the advancement of the Communist Party of Lithuania along the path of independence. But this path might be called something else. This was already discussed by the writer Romas Gudaytis.

Did we members of the Central Committee really not know about the complicated situation in the republic party organization—said a farm leader of the Za Rodinu kolkhoz [collective farm] in Shalchininskiy Rayon, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania, Zofiya Rimpo. To be honest, even the discussion in the republic party organization was hasty and we did not think through how it would end. We did not listen to the voices of many long-time party members and gave in to emotions, eloquent words, and excessive reformation. And this is the result.

Instead of determining clear political points of reference for discussion and correcting those who have overstepped the mark, the leadership of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania took a position that was convenient for itself. Certain bureau members in their speeches call for not interfering, let everything come of its own accord, and let the local party organizations straighten themselves out.

I do not agree with the opinion that anyone who is in favor of perestroyka is in favor of an independent Communist Party of Lithuania and anyone who attaches himself to the CPSU is in favor of stagnation, a Stalinist who has no stomach for perestroyka. Withdrawing from the CPSU will hardly help perestroyka. Today we must honestly say that the lack of a clear-cut party position has led to certain attempts to sow the seeds of alienation or to pound a wedge between communists and nonparty members, between representatives of power and the people, and between people of various nationalities.

The speaker went on to say that communists of Shalchininskiy Rayon are categorically against withdrawing from the CPSU. They do not think that this approach has either a theoretical or an economic basis and that withdrawing from the CPSU does not correspond to the interests of the workers and kolkhoz workers of Lithuania and undermines the unity not only of the CPSU but also of the USSR, and this plays into the hands of only the nationalist and anti-Soviet forces.

Z. Rimpo said that it is easier to solve the problems of the republic and the rayon within a unified CPSU, taking advantage of the ideological and organizational potential of the party. At the same time the communists of the rayon are in favor of changing the existing program and regulations of the CPSU. They think that the program should present the strategic goals of the CPSU as a whole and the regulations should determine the status of the communist parties of the union republics and clearly determine not only the duties of the local party organizations but also their rights both in the activity of the party as a whole and in the resolution of local problems.

Speaking of the results of the elections of delegates to the 20th Congress, she noted that only two percent of those elected were workers and rank-and-file kolkhoz workers. I anticipate, said A. Rimpo, that the Central Committee will include only educated men and the wavering intelligentsia. Will we, the working people, have to continue to break our backs? Does this mean that you no longer wish to consult with us and know our opinions? Has the struggle for power clouded the reason of the leaders of the party and government in the republic, Sayudis, and other movements? If this is so, then it does not make any difference to us simple workers which functionaries come to replace which. As the people say, it is just a waste of time.

Unkind comparisons have already been made repeatedly here: The forthcoming Congress of the Communist Party of Lithuania and a funeral march—said the first secretary of the Central Committee of Lithuanian KMS [Communist Youth Union], Alfonsas Matsaytis—and have tried to use the example of the Lithuanian Komsomol to show that the Communist Party of Lithuania as an independent organization is doomed to failure. I wish to say a couple of words to those who are mourning us prematurely. Yes, the old Komsomol was doomed to destruction, and it died. The Lithuanian Komsomol has been resurrected on a completely new basis. It is not trying to guess when and where the long-awaited communism will appear but has selected the realistic ideals and goals that arouse the people, especially young people, most of all and have chosen a path to the creation of democratic socialism, the priority of spiritual values of man, and independence. You can read about this in the articles in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA devoted to our election program. It is gratifying that these ideas predominate in the report of our esteemed first secretary, Algirdas Brazauskas.

But is the Lithuanian Komsomol really dead? During the 6 months that have passed since the congress the number of Komsomol members has increased to 40,000 and it continues to grow. Our organization has representatives of various nationalities and therefore nobody can pin the national label on us.

The card of the Lithuanian Komsomol member is the first document that confirms Lithuanian citizenship. The youth have always been the most energetic, radical part of the society. Even the VLKSM [All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League]. Here Officer Shurupov spoke about the idea that Komsomol members of Lithuania and Estonia separated from the VLKSM and were doomed. We must wait a little while, and in January Latvia, Armenia, and Georgia will join us, and on 15 February—the Komsomol of Russia as well. I wish to address all those who intend to speculate on the name of the Komsomol of Lithuania: Do not work when there is no need to, this is dishonorable. If you are real communists then admit that it was under your leadership that we ended up in the crisis situation out of which, fortunately, we have found a way. We suggest the same thing to the Communist Party of Lithuania. It is written in our regulations the Communist Party of Lithuania and not the CPSU.

I shall paraphrase a well-known statement: "The Communist Party of Lithuania without independence is a

party without a future and it is at the same time a party without the support of the Lithuanian Komsomol."

The esteemed secretary of the CPSU Central Committee explained to us how much we had all experienced together, how many mistakes had been made, and therefore we should all move forward together. But, you know, I do not wish to suffer anymore or to make any more mistakes together, not to mention causing the residents of Lithuania to suffer. I do not agree that we communists of Lithuania are just as guilty of mistakes. Why and how all got together is clear to us and only the CPSU does not wish to say this and cannot bring itself to make an evaluation of the Molotov-Ribbentrop deal. We answer for our mistakes only to our own people and not to the center.

In support of the ideas expressed here I wish to appeal to you on behalf of the members of the Lithuanian Komsomol even at this meeting to adopt an appeal to the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet regarding changing Articles 6 and 7 of the Constitution. This must be done now and it is extremely important. I appeal to you, esteemed members of the Central Committee, communists of Lithuania, delegates to the congress! Komsomol members believe in the decisiveness of your steps and are always ready to support their partner who is progressing toward independence. Komsomol members who are delegates to the congress will vote for an independent Communist Party of Lithuania.

The president of the Lithuanian SSR Academy of Sciences, a member of the bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania, Yuras Pozhela, in his speech touched on a crucial issue of the restructuring of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The political events in our republic are taking place more rapidly than in other republics and we have pushed forward—he emphasized. The path of our perestroyka is the creation of an independent Communist Party of Lithuania. This is not a desire to destroy the CPSU, of which many are trying to accuse us. By this we are pursuing the goal of forming a party of truly active communists who are capable of operating independently in the political situation that has developed in the republic.

The speaker noted that at a meeting of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee a question was raised on why we need a new statute if we have the same political goals and tasks as the CPSU. We need the statute in order for our party to be formed on a different basis, rejecting so-called democratic centralism. Centralism has led all party organizations into a blind alley. That same centralism has been unable to reveal initiative since communists could only listen and carry out decrees. Therefore we must radically change the party statute and create a sovereign party that operates independently, whose members can actively engage in party political work.

Without having our own communist party in the political system we cannot create a sovereign Lithuanian state either. Therefore today we must not put off the solution to this problem. And this cannot be done within the CPSU for this contradicts the current CPSU regulations and this is not allowed by the decrees of the plenum of the CPSU Central Committee either. The promises of the new CPSU program and the new regulations show that they are not thinking about rejecting the practice of the center—granting a kind of favor to the periphery, the republic, the region. A recent favor is that the Lithuanian people cannot control their own culture and education. But as party cadres we can dispose of the problem. But this kind of favor from above is not a method. We must refrain from nonautonomous activity.

In conclusion, Yu. Pozhela touched on the problem of separatism in the party. In his opinion, it is wrong to call the renewal of the Communist Party of Lithuania separatism. Independent activity will actually contribute to perestroyka. In order for the Communist Party of Lithuania to participate actively and as an equal in the work of the communists of the country, it is necessary to have dialogue—dialogue between an independent Communist Party of Lithuania and the CPSU which is opening up new paths.

The first secretary of the Mazheykyay gorkom of the Communist Party of Lithuania, Romanas Songayla, discussed the meeting held in Mazheykyay of first secretaries of gorkoms and raykoms of the Communist Party of Lithuania at which they discussed the need for dialogue with the CPSU Central Committee and considered questions of preparing for the party congress. At this meeting they decided to write a letter to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev.

In the opinion of the secretary, just as at one time the republic party organization and its secretary were unable to evaluate and understand the Sayudis movement, so the CPSU Central Committee is incapable of understanding the restructuring in the Communist Party of Lithuania. The meeting of the Politburo at which they discussed the question of party life in the republic was tendentiously prepared for beforehand and each member of the Politburo was given documents with statements from leaders of our country's party and government, decrees from various of our party forums, and so forth. But there was not a single statement from first secretaries of gorkoms and raykoms of the Communist Party of Lithuania about the need for dialogue with the CPSU Central Committee, of which we are so badly in need.

R. Songayla spoke about the sociological research conducted in Mazheykskiy Rayon, which reflects the political situation in the rayon. Of those communists who were questioned, 80.7 percent were in favor of independence for the Communist Party of Lithuania. Only 16 communists who participated in the questionnaire were in favor of a Communist Party of Lithuania as a part of the CPSU, whose expanded rights would be reflected in a separate point in the CPSU regulations. Of those who

were questioned, 46 percent think that the party should consist of the most honest and worthy people of the republic and that the authority of the Communist Party of Lithuania will depend on the fulfillment of the economic program and a rise in the standard of living.

The communists with whom we spoke do not approve of the decree of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and in their opinion the Communist Party of Lithuania should be an independent party—the secretary emphasized. The 20th Congress of the Communist Party of Lithuania should adopt the program and regulations of a qualitatively new party. The documents that are adopted must not be interpreted as proposals to the 28th CPSU Congress. Communists fully approve of the course adopted by Comrade Algirdas Brazauskas.

In conclusion the speaker emphasized that the government and deputies should take special measures against cases of mismanagement and disorganization, which cause a great deal of harm to the national economy and, in turn, harms the party.

In the letter from the general secretary to the communists of Lithuania it says that the reference points of perestroyka are new political thinking, integration of the country into the world political system, and the prospects for creating a common European home. But if we are to speak of a common home—said the vice president of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania, Vitautas Statulyavichyus—it has two sides to it. In the West are independent European states which are now creating the Common Market and in the future they intend to be called the united European states. There should be something similar on the eastern side of the home—the states East Europe (and Asia) should join into a union or community of independent states which establish relations on a contractual basis. I think the parliaments of West Europe more or less know even now how their home will look in two years, four years, or eight years, but we do not know. It says in the letter from the general secretary that we are at the crossroads and it is still unknown which way we shall turn.

The esteemed V.A. Medvedev at a press conference said this about the constitutional commission: Is this really the way the commission has to work? The whole country should be thinking about how to transform the Soviet Union. Each republic should make its suggestions. Now we in the Supreme Soviet are discussing the problems of language, property, and economic independence without knowing the goals toward which we are striving. It is good at least that now the group under the leadership of Academician A. Sakharov has already submitted a concept of the future constitution of the Union. It is very interesting. Now we are in favor of reorganizing the country into such a union and the construction of a European home but we are being accused of nationalism, separatism, and antisocialism.

Of course under the conditions of socialism there will always be deviations from the main line, both to the left and to the right. But neither the central press nor television has tried to clarify the main path in the republic and frequently they have paid attention only to the deviations. There were so many chauvinistic speeches at the session of the Supreme Soviet when the draft laws on property, language, and economic independence were being discussed. But when the Baltic representative said: Remember, we are in a special position, Stalin occupied us in 1940—R. Nishanov forbade him to talk like that even though the supreme soviets of these republics came to this conclusion.

We are accused of social democracy, but the general secretary's letter speaks about freedoms, principles of justice, humanism, democracy, and social justice. Yet there are the principles that were written into the program of the Communist Party of Lithuania. We reject principles that lead to dictatorship and prohibit freedom of conscience. But without going into the essence of the matter, we are given labels. The situation is similar with respect to the expatiations on the notion that we wish to separate ourselves completely from the CPSU. If we sum up the opinions expressed by many about the relations between the Communist Party of Lithuania and the CPSU, the following formula is disclosed: Relations between the Communist Party of Lithuania and the CPSU are based on a community of the fundamental goals of perestroyka and coordination of actions for achieving them. Where is the proof that these goals cannot be achieved without reorganization of the CPSU so that it will become a representative organ of independent republic parties with equal rights and coordination of their activity on a parity basis?

Another bit of pure casuistry is the assertion that the future congress of the Communist Party of Lithuania does not have the right to change CPSU members into members of the Communist Party of Lithuania. I assume that the Politburo is worried about the prestige of each member of the CPSU and therefore it should also be concerned about the authority of communists of Lithuania. We are taking a difficult, very responsible but reasonable step which will undoubtedly be evaluated for its merit both in the republic and throughout the union.

In the opinion of Kyastutis Ashmonas, member of the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist party and a brigade leader of the Klaypeda Baltiya shipyard, those who speak out in favor of an independent Communist Party of Lithuania are right. It is conducting dialogue and calling for consolidation. A curfew has been introduced in those republics where there is no dialogue.

Communists of the republic want to live in a free Lithuania. They proved this by their participation in the Baltic Way action. There have been various statements about this. The people agree with some of them and with others they do not. But even today it is not completely clear to Lithuanians what the decree of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee is about. This decree

should be published in the press, for not even all communists are familiar with it. This pertains to each individual for the future of the party depends on us all. Incidentally, there is nothing special in this document—it is merely an expression of an attitude toward party life in the republic and the leadership of the Communist Party of Lithuania. Alas, I cannot fully agree with these conclusions. At the same time it should be noted that in the Politburo there are people who are holding perestroyka back.

The Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, in the words of K. Ashmonas, should give a sincere vote of thanks to the Lithuanian party organization for the fact that it is proceeding toward independence so stubbornly, step by step, and that there is something to learn from this party.

The speaker asked V.A. Medvedev a question about the possibilities of creating a Russian Communist Party and touched on the critical problem of the unity of the Communist Party of Lithuania. This was the outcome: Everyone must do his work well. When the people see the results of their labor there will be no split in the party and its ranks will grow.

K. Ashmonas also said something about Article 6 of the Lithuanian SSR Constitution which regulates the party's current position in the society. It must be changed. The bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania must prepare a new edition of the article and reject the idea of the leading role of the party and raise the question for discussion by the session of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet. We can wait no longer for we do not have the right to ignore the decree of the local party organizations regarding this issue.

It was not at any scholarly conference in the capital but in Plunge that I head a profound philosophical idea, expressed by a teacher, a delegate from the rayon party organization—said Genrikas Zabulis, Lithuanian SSR minister of public education and a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania. While many people have decided to criticize party workers for taking advantage of their privileges, she said that it is not so much material privileges that create comfort as another unquestionable privilege: Always to have the last and unquestionably the right word. It seems that it would be best not to try to explain how and why the Communist Party ended up separated from the people. It has always proclaimed that the theoretical basis for the existence of the party is Marxism- Leninism and for a long time its history was pretentiously called Marxism-Leninism in action. Today history has shown that the Communist Party has been frequently and deeply bound up in mistakes which compromised the theory and practice of socialism in the country and in the world. Like state-appropriated political power, unfortunately, it also sanctioned many crimes and it will possibly take more than a couple of generations of communists to wipe them from the books.

The minister emphasized that since Stalin's time the party has actually been divided into two parties: The first is the lower level of the local organizations and the second is the stable, entrenched, ambitious staff apparatus. Even a member of the Central Committee was almost deprived of a vote in the presence of a staff instructor.

Today even the economy of socialism must be created anew. The state structure of the Soviet Union is being destroyed and the foundations of the socialist community are cracking. The party is losing its exclusive power. Therefore the party along with all the people must follow the path of creating a new future. The slogan of the Communist Party of Lithuania is "The plans of the people are the plans of the party!"—and this is the only slogan that has any meaning in modern politics. The Communist Party of Lithuania will be independent; modernization and the residents of Lithuania demand this and the party organizations who have sent their representatives as delegates to the congress understand this. The most correct and the last word today will be uttered not by those who are sitting in the center but by those who are here. Even if someone were to try to turn the course of events back, the congress of the Communist Party of Lithuania would still take place. The current political situation in Lithuania is complicated not because we have sharp conflict here. In this respect we are no different from the other regions of the USSR, and if we are different, it is not in the bad sense but frequently in the good sense. The situation is complicated with respect to completely new aspects of the political struggle.

Up to this point the CPSU has conducted political work without compromises. With this method, which has been applied for decades, it has not strengthened socialism but formed within its ranks a secret opposition which, having begun to operate covertly, is applying the same methods and proceeding from the irreconcilability and intolerance that comes from one single opinion.

Today the critics and those being criticized are entering into compromises. For many conservative people a compromise seems like a loss, a betrayal of party positions. But a real revolution is impossible without compromises. They are a method of coming closer to people, a method of unifying polar forces. This is very necessary today.

The Communist Party of Lithuania in communicating with the people has begun to learn a new policy of compromise which is quite new to our system and ideology, one which is based on the idea that a reasonable compromise in large-scale politics is a victory, and stupid stubbornness leads to defeat. Any political force that has appropriated for itself the privilege of having the last and unquestionably correct word is headed for an abyss. In the academy they take another path to seek compromise. G. Zabulis thinks that this path has almost

been found; all that is left to do is mark it off, which will be done by the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of Lithuania.

In spite of the fact that I am quite dissatisfied with the rates of restructuring of the CPSU and with the position of the CPSU Central Committee regarding a number of issues as well, I am still an advocate of the CPSU—said Vladislav Shved, first secretary of the Oktyabrskiy raykom of the Communist Party of Lithuania, in his speech. It is the duty of each communist today, if he has entered the CPSU out of conviction, not to flee from the party but to exert all efforts to help it to restructure its activity and return the confidence not only of all the Lithuanian people but also, probably, the other peoples of the Soviet Union as well. Defenders of the CPSU are constantly being accused of being dogmatic and defending outdated structures and values. What can one say to this? We are all against the dictatorship of the apparatus, against democratic centralism and in general, as Marx put it, a conscientious communist will not tolerate dictatorship in any form. It is natural that there should be independence in resolving all local issues. But why is it necessary to destroy the CPSU while acquiring independence? Why is it being asserted that the Communist Party of Lithuania is without rights in the CPSU? After all, during the past half year the Communist Party has actually been independent in its decisions while still remaining a constituent part of the CPSU.

Speaking of the role of the party, the speaker emphasized that he does not see any particular prospects for increasing the influence of the Communist Party of Lithuania if it leaves the CPSU. Along with the independent Communist Party of Lithuania there will also be the Communist Party of Lithuania that remains a part of the CPSU. Along with this a considerable part of the party will be lost. Therefore when going to the congress we must once again weigh all the pros and cons of the proposed variants of future development of the Communist Party of Lithuania. V. Shved went on to speak in favor of the Communist Party as an organizationally and ideologically renewed unit of the CPSU and substantiated his position. He also emphasized the variant of the development of the Lithuanian SSR as a part of a renewed federation. Being within this federation, the speaker said, communists of Lithuania would be able to make sure that Lithuania actually did become independent and have equal rights in reality and not in words as has been the case up to this point.

The rector of the Vilnius higher party school, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania, Sigizmundas Shimkus, first of all touched on problems of training party cadres. It is known that the party needs not bureaucrats proclaiming political dogmas but skilled political scientists, sociologists, and management specialists. Approximately one year ago at the council of the rectors of the Academy of Social Sciences a new principle was proposed for training these cadres in party VUZ's [higher educational institutions]. But neither the academy nor the CPSU Central Committee took this into account. One can feel the pressure in connection with the radical restructuring in the Vilnius higher party school and the resumption of teaching in the Lithuanian and Latvian languages.

The speaker also touched upon questions of the relations between the CPSU Central Committee and the Communist Party of Lithuania. In his opinion, it has been a long time since the party has been Marxist-Leninist in the full sense of this word. The fact that the party does not have equality, freedom of opinions, or other elements that were present during the formation of the party and in its Leninist stage is shown in the article by M.S. Gorbachev published in the press on 30 November of this year: "The Socialist Idea and Revolutionary Restructuring." There is not even an intention of restoring these principles. But the promises are still promises. Even at the end of the fifth year of waiting. Residents of Lithuania and communists in general cannot and will not wait any longer. In order to restore Leninist democratic traditions, Lithuanian communists have decided to conduct their own extraordinary congress. Our conscience tells us to reject Article 6 of the Constitution and to strengthen party authority with hard work. Normal relations with the center would contribute to this. It has been suggested that a meeting of members of the bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania and the members of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee would lay a foundation for dialogue with equal rights. But it is annoying that Moscow is putting out disinformation, making unsubstantiated accusations, and pinning on the labels of nationalists and separatists.

Yes, the situation in Lithuania is strained. Communists have been subjected to attacks. And not without reason: They are not fighting actively enough against scoundrels, corruption, and speculation. Before the congress of the Communist Party of Lithuania we must cleanse ourselves morally. But it is another matter when attempts are made to create a split in the Communist Party of Lithuania. Conservative forces longing for a strong hand are striving for this. They include "Yedinstvo" [Unity] and people joined together into various committees and other organizations. They are infringing on the legitimate interests both of the Lithuanians and of the Russians as well as representatives of other nationalities, they are stirring up strikes, writing complaints with political content to the center, and misinforming them. According to data from sociological questionnaires, they are supported by 0.6 percent of the Lithuanians, only 18.3 percent of the Russians, 17.3 percent of the Poles, and 14.5 percent of the people of other nationalities living in Lithuania. These stagnant politicizers are avoided by the majority of workers and farmers, especially scholars and artists of the Russian, Belorussian, Polish, and other nationalities. But they are unquestionably supported and relied upon by the conservative forces of the center. This already means something!

The speaker is convinced that the residents of Lithuania and communists do not deserve the ultimatums and unjustified suspicion and mistrust that are expressed in the decree of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee concerning the activity of the Communist Party of Lithuania and its leaders. A. Brazauskas is the most respected person in the republic, but accusations are being hurled even at him. But where are the facts and arguments? Have the people who are making these unsubstantiated accusations consulted with the communists of Lithuania? Why, finally, why was the draft of the decree of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee not discussed with members of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania and, in these times of glasnost, why was it not published? In relations between communists of Lithuania and the center we should observe the principles of glasnost and party comradeliness and equality.

We are now decisively selecting the path of independence. We shall restore Lithuania's statehood and the independence of the Communist Party of Lithuania. This is a question of the dignity of communists. We are interested in good relations with the CPSU and its democratically elected Central Committee—emphasized S. Shimkus in conclusion. But in the future it should not dictatorially interfere in our life. We are grateful to M.S. Gorbachev for the assistance rendered during the adoption of the law on the economic independence of Lithuania and the neighboring republics. We express the hope that the letter from him read today will orient us toward relations with the CPSU with equal rights.

Why has the party's authority declined recently? Yonas Guretskas, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania began his speech this way. One of the reasons, in his opinion, is the tendentious, negative treatment of party activity in the press, television, and radio. This is conditioned by other circumstances as well. The party has begun to analyze its mistakes. It condemned Stalinism and pointed out the way to eliminate the consequences of these mistakes and crimes in domestic and foreign policy, economics, the political system, and the sphere of culture and morality. But there have appeared in the republic forces that have taken advantage of this criticism not in order for the party to rectify the mistakes of the past more quickly but in order sequentially, step by step to weaken it, disorganize it, and undermine it from within. Unfortunately, this nasty work is being done not only by the party's opponents but also by its members. Among them are former active builders of socialism and communism, propagandists of Marxism-Leninism with solid scholarly credentials. Therefore many communists have become mistrustful of the party, steered clear of active work, and some have broken ties with the party. The local party organizations are in disarray. And what can be said about the nonparty members? Incidentally, in Lithuania this criticism is frequently directed at the CPSU and at the Russians and communists of other nationalities living in the republic. And Lithuanians who have entered the party in postwar years are frequently called accomplices of the occupiers. Thus the society is forming the opinion that it is necessary to separate from the CPSU and break organizational ties with it.

When discussion about the status of the Communist Party of Lithuania began what was discussed least of all was independence of the Communist Party of Lithuania within the CPSU. Neither the first nor the second secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania spoke against this. Their example was followed by certain members of the Central Committee bureau and secretaries of party raykoms and gorkoms. One got the impression that the leadership of the republic Communist Party had also begun to ignore the documents of the CPSU Central Committee concerning the most important issues in our life. Communists do not know enough about them. They are rarely or never discussed in the local party organizations. The CPSU Central Committee did the right thing when it sent the latter decree of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee to all the party raykoms and gorkoms. But there is still some doubt that all communists everywhere will be familiar with it.

Apparently the planned and thought-out replacement of gorkom and raykom secretaries had something to do with the formation of the one-sided opinion. The ones to be replaced were not those who did not do their work well but those who did not support the idea of creating a new social democratic party, those who were against separation of the Communist Party of Lithuania from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Unfortunately, the shift is not taking place without decrees from the secretariat and bureau of the Central Committee. There is now another wave against members of the government. But what are they doing with people who left precisely because of the aforementioned factors? Let them go. It is not important that they worked just as hard as the rest of the party did, as was required by the party Central Committee. They forgot even to thank them for this.

There are other factors which helped form the position concerning separation from the CPSU. But there were practically no justifications. One thing is enough: An independent party in an independent Lithuania! To be more convincing they resort to criticizing the center: The center commands, orders, controls, it does this and that. But what does the center keep us from doing? Comrade A. Brazauskas stated that he does not recall when the CPSU Central Committee has commanded us or when the center has interfered in the affairs of our people. We are allowed to freely develop our language, culture, and customs. We have restored our symbols and holidays. We are creating a national school. We shall even teach religious law.

We all understand that there is a danger of a split in the party. It seems reasonable to listen to the expectations expressed in the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the letter from M.S. Gorbachev that the Lithuanians

will be reasonable—they will strive to preserve and strengthen the republic Communist Party as an organic part of the CPSU and increase its role in a decisive renewal of the republic's sociopolitical life.

In spite of the fact that I am a member of the Central Committee I do not understand what is going on now in the Communist Party of Lithuania—said the chairman of the executive committee of the Kaunas city soviet of people's deputies, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania, Pyatras Stashkunas—do the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania, its bureau, and its secretaries really not see that in today's difficult situation the Communist Party of Lithuania and its primary units for some time now have been doing nothing and have not been solving the crucial problems that have been accumulating in the society. Do the thinking people of the Communist Party of Lithuania really not see that the tone in the party today is set not by sensible people but by different forces. Throughout the entire multistage discussion about the future of the Communist Party of Lithuania I have heard only the firm and unambiguous opinion of the member of the bureau of the Communist Party of Lithuania, Comrade V. Sakalauskas. The other members of the bureau are involved in diplomacy. But it is diplomacy based on sitting on the fence—a cheap, one-day occupation. This does not contribute to increasing the party's authority.

There is a keen political struggle taking place in the republic today. What position do our Central Committee members take? Why is there no political evaluation of those Central Committee members who have apparently repented of their zealousness during the years of stagnation and today are breaking their backs trying to please the opposition? Which Berezovs and Sheletises—past or present—are we to believe? Incidentally, there is a limit to repentance, too.

There is a fundamental issue for which the party must answer whether it likes it or not—the relations between the republic and the USSR. I do not understand why the Central Committee is looking on indifferently while the bridges that unite us are burnt one after another. Does anybody really believe that if we do this in a year or two we shall be living if not like the Swedes then at least as the Finns do? Is the Central Committee really not bothered by statements to the effect that we must get out of this dishonorable union? After all, this opinion was expressed not from a bazaar but from the podium of the republic Supreme Soviet. Not by an ignorant person but by a scholarly man, a deputy of the country's parliament! If he were the only one with this opinion one might not attach significance to it, but it is clear that he is not the only one.

Just yesterday as I was watching a television program on a meeting with a guest I was reminded of the phrase: "The Lithuanian people are prepared to restore statehood at any price and even a catastrophe could not break our resolve." Is this really what the Lithuanian people think? Is it not the party's duty to protect the people from possible cataclysms? Are the local party organizations and the communists not obliged to say who is who and put a stop to anarchic processes? Otherwise everyone is probably aware of what the consequences would be. I agree with the opinion of R. Soigayla that sabotage is possible here. Let us think of who stands to gain from having our country become worse: The government or some other forces.

The forthcoming elections, in my opinion, will largely predetermine how we will live in the future. Taking into account the realities of life, I see the party's only task and responsibility as expressing its opinion about the candidates truthfully. How do I envision the future of the Communist Party of Lithuania? As an independent, democratic, Marxist party free of dogmas and scandal, principled, honest, open, and not proclaiming itself to be the vanguard. There is apparently nothing that has caused more harm to the society and the party itself than Article 6 of the Constitution, which motivated not only comrades-in-arms but also careerists, in the worst sense of the word, to rally around the party.

I think it is a mistake to raise the question of the withdrawal of the Communist Party of Lithuania from the CPSU in this difficult stage of our life.

Having noted that the Politburo decree gives principled, objective, and clear political evaluations of the state of affairs in the republic Communist Party, the first secretary of the Vilnyusskiy raykom of the Communist Party of Lithuania, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania, Ivan Mikhalkevich expressed the opinion that certain party decrees have been published with a great deal of delay.

Members of the party raykom demanded that I answer the question of why the information about the meeting of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee published in the mass media after our return from Moscow by the leadership of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania differed so sharply from what was said in the Politburo decree—I. Mikhalkevich continued. Why was it so light-weight, incomplete, and contradictory? It does not require any special perspicacity to see that in past months in the work style of the Bureau and Secretariat of the Communist Party of Lithuania there has more and more frequently been a lack of balance, unsteadiness, and incomplete openness. Many of us party committee secretaries are left with a feeling of dissatisfaction and bitterness about the conferences in the Central Committee which are being held on very important issues.

Expressing his opinion about the extraordinary congress of the Communist Party of Lithuania, the speaker noted that the precongress discussion has not strengthened the republic party organization but, on the contrary, has led to a weakening of discipline in it. It has led to the danger of a split along ideological-organizational and national lines. The drafts of the foundations of the program and

statute of the Communist Party which were published with a great deal of delay were not a unifying influence during the course of the discussion. In the party organizations of Vilnyusskiy Rayon they were subjected to serious criticism and given a negative evaluation. About 70 percent of the communists of the rayon party organization were in favor of the status of independence, but as a part of the CPSU.

I. Mikhalkevich suggested that it would be correct at the extraordinary congress to limit ourselves to an exchange of opinions on the drafts of the foundations of the program and status of the republic Communist Party and entrust further work on these drafts to commissions created by the congress. The final adoption of the resolutions on the program and statute could be put off until the regular congress of the republic Communist Party in 1990.

The speaker also noted that, in his view, it was precipitous for the Presidium of the republic Supreme Soviet to adopt a decree declaring the decisions of the sessions of the rayon soviets of Shalchininskiy and Vilnyusskiy Rayons concerning territorial independence to be invalid. In his opinion, this did not remove but increased the political tension in these territories. Nor was stabilization promoted by the fact that the republic state organs largely failed to carry out the main suggestions of the Polish community and leaders of these regions concerning problems of national, social, and cultural life.

The first secretary of the Kretingskiy raykom of the Communist Party of Lithuania, Valeriyonas Kubilyus, noted that the absolute majority of communists in all the local party organizations are in favor of an independent Communist Party of Lithuania with its own program and statute. At the same time the opinion is expressed that this does not mean separating from the CPSU but cooperating more equally with the parties of the republic—for sooner or later all the republics will become independent, both economically and politically. Communists of the rayon approve of the principle of independence of the Communist Party of Lithuania and the basic provisions of the draft of the statute. The majority of communists are in favor of changing Article 6 of the Constitution even before the congress. Putting this issue off can only cause harm to the party.

The speaker recalled the enthusiasm that reigned before the 19th All-Union Party Conference and how much hope there was! And the result? Of course, one cannot deny its impetus for perestroyka, but it did not justify the hopes of the communists. There were many programs and all kinds of appeals but the situation got worse. Today the party is being subjected to more criticism than anyone else. Many people are surprised at how the leaders of the country and the party can rely on the Brezhnev constitution, which has been under criticism for a number of years, and the principles that contain the mistakes of stagnation. This is why many people are taking decisive measures for a radical restructuring of the system that compromised itself. Why are attempts being made to hamper this, what are they afraid of? It would seem that by doing this we can only harm perestroyka. Today the revolution is being carried our through intelligence and not destructive force. We must concentrate attention on carrying out perestroyka with a minimum of loss for the society and the people.

The people are demanding that we create conditions whereby everyone feels that he is working for himself and for Lithuania. So let us create as quickly as possible a democratic, law-governed republic that ensures man's rights and freedoms. I cannot imagine how we are going to explain to communists and all other residents of the rayon that after so much discussion we must again turn back and live within the framework established by the so-called center. Today in preparing for the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of Lithuania we must think hard about whether or not we have the right to ambitions and a war of principles which divide the party, whether we can place them above the interests of the republic for, after all, we are realizing the principle: "Lithuania without sovereignty is a Lithuania without a future." The bureau of the Communist Party raykom and the group of delegates to the 20th Congress presented these ideas in a statement to the Central Committee which the speaker turned over to the presidium of the plenum.

The editor of the newspaper MUSU RUPESCHYAY, a candidate member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania, Algimantas Stankyavichyus, said that he was given hope by the address from General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee M.S. Gorbachev to the communists of the republic. But still contradictory thoughts arise. I frequently visit the local party organizations, I meet with communists, and many letters come to our small newspaper. Therefore I am bold enough to assert that the majority of honest communists are confused and have become passive. The Komsomol has essentially disintegrated. Perhaps the ones who feel better are those who when asked whether they are a communist respond: "I am a communist but not like that!"

I am also alarmed by the persistent attacks on the party. The attacks are well aimed. They want to place the party beyond the limits of morality. Morality! They will resort to anything to do this: To defaming the creation of the Communist Party of Lithuania and its history, to denying Marxism-Leninism as a teaching and as the ideological basis for the party. It would not be strange if this campaign were being conducted by the league of freedom or other such movements. But this is being done by the hands of communists with scholarly degrees, even if they call themselves "not that kind of communists."

One does not wish to believe that intelligent people think that the ideas of the free individual, equality and brotherhood of people, social justice, general human culture, and socialism which are concentrated in Marxism-Leninism have outlived their time merely because they were distorted in practice by Stalinism, Maoism, and

certain other "isms." Regarding this I wish to cite the words from the letter received by the editors from a rank- and-file communist, Genrikas Stasyulaytis: "The ideas of Marxism-Leninism have stood up in spite of all the distortions; they were living before and they continue to live in the hearts of many honest communists, in our country and throughout the world!" It could not have been said better!

I call upon all participants in the plenum to think quite responsibly about on whose behalf they are making attempts to crush the party and place it beyond the limits of morality. Is it not in order to create a real danger that under favorable circumstances, say, in an independent Lithuania or in some other case, that it might be proclaimed to be outside the law?

Perhaps I am laying it on too thick. The more so since both the draft documents of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of Lithuania that were published in the press and the statements "not that kind of communists" are extremely frank: The nation needs not a communist party but an organization of social democrats. On 8 November in VOLNA VOZROZHDENIYA, the chairman of the soviet of the sejm of Sajudis, the esteemed V. Landsbergis, had his doubts (and not without irony) that Lithuania needed two democratic parties, those who were gathered in that hall and the esteemed R. Gudaitis who has already spoken explained without any beating around the bush that in the future they might unite with the democratic party that had emerged from the underground.

So allow me to ask who is creating a split in the party?

I too am in favor of an independent Communist Party of Lithuania. I was very upset when in 1973 the sheet with its name disappeared from the party ticket. But I am in favor of an independent Communist Party of Lithuania on one firm basis—the basis of Marxism-Leninism. And as long as we are really in the Soviet Union, our ties with the CPSU must remain the same as they are.

When you hear the letter from Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev to the communists of Lithuania and the report from Algirdas Brazauskas, your thoughts immediately run to the past—said the editor of the newspaper BALSTECHYU LAYKRASHTIS, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania, Vladas Butenas. Forty years ago the 70th anniversary of the birth of Joseph Stalin was noisily celebrated. It was on 21 December. Among those congratulating him and sending him gifts—a pipe made of Lithuanian amber, it seems—were leaders of the Lithuanian party organization. Could anyone have thought at that time that by the end of the 20th century Lithuanian communists would be preparing quite a different gift—the resolve to become members of an independent party and decide for themselves the fate of their land and people. And who could have had such an idea 13 years ago when on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the birth of Leonid Brezhnev we congratulated him and gave him the Gold Star? This year this day will become memorable because we are beginning the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of Lithuania. We have decided finally and irrevocably to do this.

No, this is not just an ordinary coincidence but the logic suggested by life itself or, to put it in the words of the classics of Marxism-Leninism, dialectical materialism, for life is not coming to a halt, it is not a closed circle.

The news that members of the bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania were setting out for Moscow to go to the meeting of the Politburo flew like lightening to Lithuania. Different kinds of comments were made about this event. Judging from our newspaper's mail, the meeting in Moscow was not an impediment to the achievement by the Communist Party of Lithuania of its current goals. True, there were hysterical voices that compared this event to 1939-1940 when on invitation from the USSR representatives of the Lithuanian Government traveled to Moscow. There is nothing you can do; human fantasy is as rich as it ever was when it comes to comparisons. But let us soberly assess what we were like before and what we are like now. The Politburo's appeal to us in the language of an interested partner in and of itself tells a great deal, and we did not feel that we were students or provincials bowing down with an amber pipe in hand. For we are participants in and not observers of the processes taking place in the world, in Europe, in the countries of socialism. The times when the methods of socialist and communist construction were reproduced from the center and were mandatory for all have come to an end. The states and the people themselves want to create their own life model and not sculpt it out of universal reinforced concrete blocks. This is why at the 18th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania it was decided not to draw out processes that had come to a head. And it seems to me that we did not make a mistake. This is shown by the activity of party life and the increased interest in the future of the Communist Party of Lithuania. While previously there prevailed in the society a denial of the Communist Party, now we are seeing the opposite process. Therefore we should not be surprised at the fact that energetic young people elected democratically are coming to the party committees, and many people trust them. There are other positive changes as well.

But we must not come to our 20th Congress in a flippant frame of mind, our eyes in blinders, and filled with national egoism. Its main goal is not to be a rally but to make responsible decisions: To adopt the party program and statute and to evaluate the mistakes of the past and put them behind us. And the main thing is a clear formulation of the party's aspirations on the path to party sovereignty.

A couple of words about the affairs of farmers. We are receiving many letters that express concern for the future of rural areas. Farmers justifiably dare to raise the question of what fate awaits the kolkhozes and

sovkhozes. They openly admit that forced collectivization separated man from the land and it was left without a master. At the same time they agree that public farms with firm management practices and a good material base will continue in the future to be the main producers of agricultural products. But in order for the grain growers to become the masters under the current conditions we must look more confidently for new management methods that make it possible for them to become independent. The only problem is that when introducing innovations we encounter much that is unclear and laws that do not work well. At the center of these problems is the main issue—who is the master of the land and who is the owner. Therefore there is justification from the demand of economic managers, specialists, rural communists, and the farmers themselves—to have a clearly developed law on ownership of the land which does not avoid private ownership. The documents of the congress of the Communist Party of Lithuania should reflect the affairs of farmers more broadly and a clearly presented platform for their future. This will strengthen the people's belief in the party and its goals.

Lithuanian Party Draft Action Program

90UN0585A Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 3 Dec 89 pp 1, 2

[Draft of program of actions of the Communist Party of Lithuania]

[Text] **The bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania on 29 November of this year considered the prepared draft "Action Program of the Communist Party of Lithuania," which was intended for the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of Lithuania, and decided to publish it for further discussion by communists of the republic.**

Scholars and representatives of the creative intelligentsia and party organizations of the republic worked on the document.

Active discussion of the published program document should help to improve it and better reflect the hopes of the majority of communists in Lithuania. Suggestions and remarks should be sent to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania.

Socialism, as a system of social justice, is one of the main goals of the Communist Party of Lithuania. Socialism is not a dogmatic, previously given system, in which blind adherence will produce the "ideal society," but, rather, an optimal socioeconomic structure of a democratic society that is constantly and creatively developing on the basis of the existing reality, in which material well-being and the fruits of culture are really accessible to all members of the society, where human rights and the creative self-expression of the individual are guaranteed.

In the matter of restoring the statehood of Lithuania in the near future it is especially important to establish and interpret its sovereignty. This is the natural will of the people who during the period between wars had the possibility of developing freely but were deprived of it because of the great powers.

In creating a new democratic socialist Lithuania which is oriented toward the 21st Century we shall definitely take advantage of the experience of the Lithuanian Republic in the development of the foundations of democracy, state institutions, the economy, and culture. But history does not move in reverse. We shall not return either to the beginning of this century, when following the military and revolutionary shocks, conditions arose for the restoration of Lithuanian statehood, not to the period before 1926 when the fragile parliamentary democracy was unable to avoid turning to chaos, nor to the period before 1940 when the authoritarian Tautiniki regime trampled on democratic rights and freedoms.

Lithuania's past 50 years are also a part of history—the years of perserverance, restraint, and hope for the people. Lithuania was torn away from the development of European democracy. Along with the other peoples of the USSR it experienced a period when human rights were violated and economic relations were distorted. But the revived Lithuania should evaluate, according to their merits, the efforts of those who during the years of Stalinism and stagnation strove to preserve the national spirit and the historic memory, culture, and nature of Lithuania and the favorable demographic structure as well as the feeling of being the master—those who, developing modern industry and agriculture, opposed the unrestrained dictatorship of the central organs. This created conditions for today's life in Lithuania.

The law-governed democratic state, a civic society, the priority of human values, the harmony of man and nature, socialism for man—such are the contours of the future Lithuania, rushing toward the 21st Century. How soon it will be defined and strengthened will depend on our common resolve, wisdom, and responsibility, and at the same time on many other conditions both in Lithuania and outside it. Understanding this, we must not forget about good relations with other USSR republics. We are interested in these not only politically but also economically. Through our joint efforts we shall have to find a place for Lithuania in the community of free nations of Europe. On our path we must take advantage of the experience of other states that have moved farther along than we have in the development of democracy and a civic society.

The state and the nation in the modern world are sovereign to the extent that they realize the will of their people. And this depends on economic, geopolitical, ecological, and cultural conditions. There are no absolutely isolated nations and states that are absolutely independent of one another. Sooner or later each state encounters this problem: While expressing the will of the people and their interests and taking into account the stability of the borders, the power of the neighboring states, and economic and military factors, they must select the content and form of cooperation with other

countries. Such is the normal condition of independent, civilized nations and states that have chosen the democratic path. Lithuania is striving for this and this is the goal of our party. Operating responsibly in today's structure of political forces, we understand well that restoration of Lithuanian statehood is unthinkable without political stability, well-thought-out and realistic steps, without consolidation of all political and social forces, state tact, and wisdom of leadership.

THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC POLICY

The point of reference for the economic policy of the Communist Party of Lithuania is a broad spectrum of sociocultural needs and the political and economic interests of the citizen of the Lithuanian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]. These interests and needs require that the Lithuanian SSR have economic independence and that adequate political and economic conditions be created:

—Lithuania regulates its own relations for ownership of the land and minerals, property created by the labor of the residents of the republic, and so forth;

—Creates a market mechanism that guarantees coordination of the interests of the producers and consumers;

—Implements an independent monetary, financial-credit, and budget system;

—Independently develops economic ties with the Soviet republics and foreign countries;

—Releases the creative potential of all workers as the main source of well-being of the state, the people, and each individual. **The economy for man.** The Communist Party of Lithuania by proclaiming its social program is above all achieving normal conditions for the life of the residents of Lithuania and is striving for a solid family and for comprehensive social guarantees for all segments of the population, refraining from any discriminatory restrictions.

On the other hand, the scale of the accumulated social problems is such that it is unrealistic to hope to solve them immediately.

Therefore the Communist Party of Lithuania is speaking out in favor of implementing these immediate measures:

—To strive for legislative protection of the social rights of citizens;

—To establish that wages and pensions should not be lower than the minimum wage;

—To increase wages, pensions, stipends, grants, and other permanent payments, taking into account the growing prices for consumer goods and services;

—To render material assistance not only to families with many children but also to other families who for various reasons have ended up below the subsistence level;

—To guarantee principles for providing housing that are the same for all residents and create a differentiated system of apartment rent (depending on dwelling space, its quality, and the environment);

—To maintain priority provision of material, financial, and other resources for housing construction, regardless of the method of construction;

—To expand the prevention of diseases and modernize the material and technical base for treatment;

—To guarantee priority provision of means, including hard currency, for public health. To search for ways and means of attracting currency resources of states, enterprises, institutions, organizations, cooperatives, and residents for acquiring medical equipment and medicines;

—To prepare and adopt a law on physical culture and sports and in all ways to encourage and support a healthful way of life;

—To prepare and adopt a comprehensive program for aid to young families before 1991.

In order to strengthen the family, home rearing of children must be recognized as socially useful labor. Therefore:

—Mothers rearing children of preschool age must be given a choice: To send the children to preschool institutions or to educate them at home. In the latter case the families should be compensated with the state expenditures that are designated for keeping children in preschool institutions;

—Mothers rearing children of preschool age at home should be paid maternity pay, guaranteeing their work tenure and creating the possibility of working an incomplete work day (week).

Restructuring of the economy. Rallying the efforts of communists and all residents of the republic for an immediate and purposeful solution to the practical problems in the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, and in other union departments by implementing the USSR law on the economic independence of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. Since only an effective economy makes it possible to solve social problems effectively, the Communist Party of Lithuania sees the following ways and means of improving it:

—Supporting and constitutionally reinforcing all forms of ownership; these include exercising real market relations in the economy and restoring the pride of ownership, and adhering to the principle that each form of ownership is good if it is effective and useful for the individual and the society;

—It is expedient to create and shape a market not only for consumer goods, but also for the workforce, means of production, capital, and innovations;

—Decentralizing management and reinforcing local self-management. The democratically elected soviets of people's deputies should become the real masters of the local economy and form and utilize local budgets. At the same time they must be supported with subsidies from the state budget, taking into account the disproportions that have developed and the financial power of the local economy, and especially taking into account the needs for public health, education, and culture. It is necessary to democratize management by increasing the independence of the enterprises and diversifying the forms of them (share holding, state, cooperative, mixed, private);

—Achieving public recognition of good and conscientious work and refraining from administrative restrictions on payment for it; wages should depend on the recognition of its results on the market and on the reputation and mastery of the workers and specialists; competence, conscientiousness, and responsibility to the society for their decisions should become the basic criteria for evaluating the work of managers and specialists at various levels;

—Encouraging the activity of medium- and small-size enterprise with a high technical level;

—Creating competitive conditions in all spheres of economic production activity, rendering comprehensive support to the kind of economic activity that makes most effective use of its scientific and technical potential, expanding science-intensive production and production that requires the smallest quantity of raw and processed materials, and integrating division of labor into a world system;

—Creating favorable conditions for expanding all forms of management and organization of agricultural production: kolkhozes [collective farms], goskhozes [state farms], share-holding enterprises, agricultural firms, cooperatives, and peasant businesses. In the near future it will be necessary to revise the system of price setting and taxation in agriculture;

—Radically reorganizing the price system. Monopolistic price setting is restricted, and the state regulates prices on the scale that is necessary for ensuring social justice;

—Giving priority to the production of items related to necessities (food, clothing, footwear) and the development of services, at the same time creating favorable economic conditions for them (additional investments, technical retooling of production, establishing joint enterprises with foreign firms).

Balancing the commodity and monetary market through implementing the following measures:

—Selling small enterprises, their equipment, and structures, small consumer service enterprises, repair and construction organizations, public catering and trade enterprises, surplus agricultural equipment, and the state housing supply, applying various forms of sale (auctions, shares, and so forth), and maintaining a competitive balance of forms of ownership;

—Stabilizing investment processes while concentrating production capacities and material resources to satisfy the priority, immediate needs of the people;

—Organizing the sale of luxury items and prestigious goods through the Lyuks stores and at auctions at commercial prices and destroying speculation, bribe taking, and other negative phenomena in the economy;

—Halting the "leakage" of hard currency abroad and creating conditions for citizens who have a hard currency account to acquire imported and other items that are in short supply for hard currency;

—Providing more incentive and popularizing through economic measures certificates of deposit made in banks by the population, their protection from monetary inflation, instituting exchange of securities, and organizing currency auctions;

—Reducing budget expenditures on maintaining the state apparatus.

ECOLOGICAL POLICY

The position of the Communist Party of Lithuania with respect to protection of the environment is fundamental and simple: Man can and should harmonize his relations with nature. Unconditional recognition and respect for the value of nature and man is the only path to the achievement of scientifically substantiated goals in the area of ecology.

The Communist Party of Lithuania, recognizing free, public, and democratic discussion of environmental protection problems and the adoption of comprehensively substantiated decisions in the area of the ecology as one of the immediate tasks in the matter of the protection of nature, considers it necessary to significantly improve the ecological situation in the republic.

Consistently implementing scientific, legal, and economic measures, it is necessary:

—To reduce pollution of the atmosphere to sanitary norms;

—To halt the discharge of unpurified water into the republic's bodies of water;

—To strictly monitor and regulate the processes of erosion of the land and its chemical pollution;

—To solve the problem of collecting, processing, and storing toxic wastes;

—To expand the protected territories to the scientifically substantiated normatives (no less than eight percent of the area of the republic). To this end it is necessary to create new preserves and national parks, developing

recreational facilities intended for the utilization of the valuable properties of nature in the republic for purposes of rest, resort therapy, and tourism;

—To introduce a differentiated price system, encouraging the production of ecologically pure agricultural products.

In order to achieve positive strides in the environment in the near future, it is necessary:

—To create and introduce a unified system of ecological monitoring, scientific research, and ecological expert evaluation in the matter of the protection of nature;

—In questions of the protection of nature and the utilization of nature to recognize the priority of the right of local government to decide;

—To inform the public promptly and openly of changes in the environment and their dynamics;

—To regulate hunting not on a departmental but on a state level;

—To participate actively in the work for solving the ecological problems of the Baltic Sea basis and expand international cooperation by contributing to the realization of the Helsinki Convention;

—To cooperate with organizations of other republics and foreign countries in the area of ecological activity, education, and propaganda.

LEGAL POLICY

In order to create the foundations of a socialist, democratic, law-governed state, the Communist Party of Lithuania considers it necessary:

—To continue consistent development of the constitutional reform to reinforce the sovereignty of Lithuania; to develop and adopt laws that provide for economic independence; to create a durable mechanism for protection of human rights and freedoms; to develop a democratic system for preparing and adopting legal acts which will provide for realizing the will of the citizens of the Lithuanian SSR;

—To prepare and adopt a law on political parties, movements, and social organizations;

—To support the efforts of the society and the government directed toward protection of civic dignity and other interests of the youth of Lithuania serving time in the army;

—To create an independent system of legal protection organs in the republic; to develop before the end of the year a scientifically substantiated republic program for fighting crime and provide for its resolute implementation;

—To update criminal, administrative, and other legislation and prepare the bases for legal liability;

—In the near future to prepare laws on the militia, the procuracy, the judiciary, and the status of judges, and other normative acts that correspond to the conditions in the republic; to reform people's courts so that they will be able to really protect the rights, honor, and dignity of the citizens;

—To adopt concrete measures for satisfying the most necessary professional and material and technical needs of law enforcement organs. Along with budget possibilities, to use other sources of financing more extensively for these purposes;

—To prepare and adopt a law on prevention of legal violations and to step up the work on this among asocial individuals and those inclined to commit crimes. To grant the Ministry of Public Education more extensive rights in the area of education and reeducation of minors and prevention of the legal violations they commit;

—A primary task of law enforcement organs, above all the militia, is to count on maximum ensurance of the safety of the individual citizen, private property, and order and peace in public places. To utilize more extensively for these purposes the capabilities of city and rayon organs of state authority and management in order to create subdivisions of the local militia;

—To create conditions so that the public and its organizations can actually participate in the fight against crime and actively support the efforts of the state in this area. To prepare new fundamentals for social prevention of legal violations based on voluntary participation, motivation, and the principles of diversity of forms.

ON QUESTIONS OF NATIONAL MINORITIES

The Communist Party of Lithuania supports the desire of all national groups of Lithuania to preserve their national distinctiveness, language, customs, and cultural traditions.

The party considers the art of reciprocal communication among people as a part of the general political culture, benevolence, and mutual trust to be important factors for agreement in interethnic relations.

The Communist Party of Lithuania considers it necessary:

—To reflect in the constitution the rights of ethnic groups living in Lithuania;

—To develop and adopt laws guaranteeing the realization of the economic and socio-cultural interests of the nationalities living in Lithuania;

—To provide for real implementation of legislative acts concerning the state language of the Lithuanian SSR;

—To support the activity of national-cultural societies to develop national distinctiveness and search for points in common with the culture of the Lithuanian people.

SPIRITUAL RENEWAL OF THE INDIVIDUAL

The primary and most important duty of national culture is to restore and toughen man's morality and to enrich the spiritual, intellectual, and aesthetic content of the personality.

The Communist Party of Lithuania expresses its readiness:

—To support the theoretical and practical establishment of the concept of integrity and primacy of the culture of Lithuania (native language, customs, folklore, historical-cultural monuments, museums, archives, and ties with the cultures of national minorities and people who have left Lithuania and with the cultures of the world);

—To resolutely reject the alien stereotypes of a unified culture that have been imposed on Lithuania;

—To protect culture, education, and science from ideological dictatorship; to officially repeal the decrees and instructions that are harmful to the national culture and were adopted on behalf of the Communist Party of Lithuania during the years of Soviet power and to legislatively reinforce guarantees of freedom of creativity;

—When preparing laws on the functioning of spiritual culture and strengthening its material base, to proceed from scientifically substantiated criteria of humanism and creativity and not merely commercial principles;

—To develop the modern concept of democracy and political culture;

—To encourage the efforts of state institutions, organizations, and people for preserving the old parts of cities, architectural monuments, and historical land preserves;

—To encourage meetings and congresses of Lithuanians throughout the world who are representatives of individual areas of culture, their joint scientific research, the publication of collectively prepared books, and so forth.

The Communist Party of Lithuania is in favor of freedom of conscience in the creation of equal possibilities for the existence of secular and religious world views. The Communist Party of Lithuania supports the cooperation of believers and nonbelievers and develops morality on the basis of common human values.

In the opinion of the Communist Party of Lithuania, it is necessary:

—To prepare and adopt a law on freedom of conscience;

—To revise the decrees of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania and the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers that regulate the activity of religious communities;

—To gradually return the property belonging to religious communities;

—To rehabilitate communists who have suffered because of religious convictions or participation in church rituals.

EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND IDEOLOGICAL RENEWAL

The Communist Party of Lithuania will achieve further democratization and humanization of the system of education. To this end it is necessary:

—To prepare and adopt a new law on education;

—To devote exceptional attention to the realization of the concept of the national school. During the decade of the 600th anniversary of the Lithuanian school it will be necessary to essentially improve the material and technical base for education;

—To unite the scientific and pedagogical potential of the Lithuanian SSR Academy of Sciences and the VUZ's [higher educational institutions] for solving the major economic, social, and scientific problems and training qualified specialists;

—To improve the distribution of VUZ's and secondary specialized schools and also the specialties in the republic and encourage the development of science and culture in all regions of Lithuania;

—To legalize the autonomy of the higher school;

—To expand the ties among scholars, instructors, and student youth of Lithuania with foreign countries, to borrow experience from the most progressive scientific centers, and to freely exchange information and scientific and cultural values.

The Communist Party of Lithuania rejects the dogmatic interpretation of communist ideology and primitive propaganda. The party's ideological activity will be based on methods of tolerance and free discussion, and the scientific force of arguments; it will be directed toward the real and practical effectiveness of the ideas that are advanced. And it will refrain from being declarative and from abstract slogans, devoting major attention to real meaning, the concreteness of ideological principles, and historical truth. The ideological activity of the Communist Party of Lithuania is inseparably linked to extensive propaganda of cultural education, common human values, and national traditions.

In the opinion of the Communist Party of Lithuania it is necessary:

—To consider objectively and evaluate the historic events in the restoration of Lithuanian statehood and

the creation and activity of the Lithuanian Communist Party, the period of 1939-1940, and also the period of Stalinism and stagnation, and the mistakes made in the theory and practice of socialism and the socioeconomic and moral decline;

—To intensively eliminate from social sciences the remnants of the opportunistic orientation: Dogmatism, scholasticism, and apologetics. To reach a point where social sciences become a real instrument for objective theoretical analysis of problems of social life;

—To develop and adopt a law on archives and guarantee the protection of documents stored in state and departmental archives;

—To prepare and adopt a law on the press;

—To reorganize the system of mass information in the republic taking into account the separation of functions of party, state, and economic organs;

—To devote exceptional attention to strengthening and developing the material and technical base of the mass media and the introduction of the latest technologies in the press.

FOREIGN POLICY

The Communist Party of Lithuania, guided by the principle that world policy is determined by the primacy of human values, speaks out in favor of democratization and humanization of international relations and support of the goals of the United Nations, especially in the matter of disarmament and preservation of peace and unconditional realization of the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It is in favor of the development of international personal contacts, people's freedom to enter and leave, and also their free movement among countries which is realized on the basis of international law and agreements.

The Communist Party of Lithuania is in favor of:

—Revising the practice of representation of the vital interests of the republic abroad in the areas of economics, politics, science, culture, and other spheres, and the creation of a new system of this representation;

—Legalization of republic representatives in Soviet diplomatic, consular, and trade representations abroad, above all in the United States, Canada, Australia, the FRG, and the Baltic and other states where many people from Lithuania live and with which ties are developing intensively. This will lay a basis for creating a diplomatic service for the republic abroad;

—The development of diplomatic relations with foreign states and exchange of diplomatic representatives;

—The development of close relations with people who have left Lithuania, enlisting them in the economic, cultural, and scientific life of the republic;

—Extensive and close economic, scientific, cultural, tourist, and other ties between the republic and foreign countries and their organizations on the basis of the republic's constitution and within the framework of bilateral or multilateral agreements.

STAGES IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF LITHUANIAN STATEHOOD

The establishment of statehood and the path to sovereignty and independence are a process with all of its sequentiality and strategy. Unless the sequentiality of this process and its political and economic feasibility are taken into account the fate of people that has been achieved with such difficulty up to now can be placed in jeopardy.

The path we have proposed is peaceful, parliamentary, constitutional, and based on the good will and agreement of all of us and on benevolent interest in one another. Only in a democratic Lithuania will each individual—regardless of nationality or convictions—feel free and safe.

We see certain stages in the process of creating statehood. Even today we must achieve equal and mutually advantageous cooperation with other republics on a contractual basis. Our immediate goal is a sovereign and free Lithuanian state in a new union of soviet republics. The following conditions are necessary to reach this stage: **I. In the area of politics:**

—Strengthening of democracy, separation of the functions of the legislative and executive powers and the courts, providing for the primacy of the laws of the republic;

—Constitutional and legal reform;

—Legalization of a multiparty system;

—Constitutional reinforcement of the freedoms of the human being and the citizen and their guarantees;

—Execution of the law on citizenship;

—The creation of an independent system of law enforcement organs;

—The preparation of an agreement on the USSR on a new basis and other agreements and their implementation through negotiation;

—Regulation of the question of military service for Lithuanian youth;

—The establishment and development of independent ties with foreign countries. **II. In the socioeconomic area:**

—Securing republic property and the diversity of forms of ownership in the republic;

—Practical exercise of the right to independent business;

—Reorientation of the social policy in realizing social justice;

—State regulation of the economy under market conditions.

All these steps are conditioned by the processes that are taking place and should take place in the USSR, in the Baltic countries, in Europe, and throughout the world:

—Reduction of political and military tension;

—A sequential and irreversible process of disarmament and the creation of zones free of atomic weapons and a reduction of the number of troops;

—Gradual elimination of confrontations between social systems and deepening of democratic processes in the countries of Europe.

Lithuania's further steps toward sovereignty will depend on whether or not we succeed in creating a strong, effective economy that functions in the world market and whether we and other republics succeed in transforming the Soviet Union into an acceptable union that brings real, concrete advantages to all the states comprising it. These steps will depend on the processes of European and world integration in which Lithuania will also participate. The interests of the well-being of the state and each of its citizens and their safety should lie at the basis of any political decision.

RSFSR Miners' Complaints Remain Unresolved

Situation Discussed

PM1001163590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Own correspondent V. Kulagin dispatch: "Four Months On. Who Will Resolve the Conflict Situation at Lebedinskiy Mining and Enriching Combine, and When?"]

[Text] Belgorod Oblast—Last October IZVESTIYA (issue No 289) published a letter from members of Lebedinskiy Mining and Enriching Combine Mining Administration Labor Collective Council "On Personal Interest and Collective Responsibility." Miners told how the mining and enriching combine found itself on the brink of a stoppage at the end of last summer. A strike seemed inevitable. But the workers committee managed to reach a compromise with the administration. It was not emotions but common sense that prevailed in the mining administration collective of over 2,000 people. The quarry did not stop work for even an hour. The miners asked the editorial office to bring their letter to the notice of M.S. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Mikhail Sergeyevich also used our newspaper's pages (IZVESTIYA No 298) to reply to workers from Lebedinskiy Mining and Enriching Combine, and expressed the hope that the editorial office would undertake to monitor the satisfaction of miners' legitimate demands regarding the solution of pressing socioeconomic problems.

On assignment from the editorial office, IZVESTIYA's own correspondent met those who should be dealing with satisfying the miners' demands: A. Loboda, chief of the mining administration; A. Kalashnikov, general director of the Mining and Enriching Combine; Yu. Golovin, his deputy for economic issues and chairman of the combine's labor collective council; and O. Polukhin, first secretary of Gubkin City Party Committee [gorkom].

[Kulagin] What has changed at the enterprise in the 4 months since the start of the labor conflict? And primarily in its industrial zone?

[A. Kalashnikov] The situation in production is back to normal. The quarry has acquired more powerful equipment— excavators with a capacity of 15 cubic meters, new drills... The outward shipment of metallurgical raw material is much more regular.

[Kulagin] Nonetheless, Anatoliy Timofeyevich, I have only just talked to workers and trade union leaders from the mining administration. Their mood is less optimistic. Specifically, they are very much perturbed by the endless enforced idleness at the quarry. Sergey Golovin, for example—he was introduced to me as an excavator operator in the mining administration's best team—complained that powerful excavators often stand idle for up to 3 hours per shift because there is nothing for them to do. And every hour that the team stands idle means that 1,000 cubic meters of rock are not shipped out.

[A. Loboda] Idle time is our scourge. Nobody in the sector is willing to consider the fact that mining is now being done at greater depths and we are dealing with especially hard rock. And the explosives are bad. Furthermore, the allocated quantities are insufficient. We receive less than one-tenth of the TNT we need. How are we to break the rock with such weak charges? We ruin the equipment on blocks of hard rock, we spend hours standing idle. In order for the mine to operate normally we must be prepared to excavate steadily at least 5 million tonnes of rock, but our capacity is just one-third of that.

[Kulagin] But Aleksandr Ivanovich, this is nothing but stating the facts. As you know, the workers demand an end to production disruptions. What has been specifically undertaken by the leadership of the mining administration and the combine to improve blasting operations?

A. Kalashnikov: This problem has been worrying us for years. That was why we were the first in our sector to start using our own explosive 5 years ago. The cost of blasting operations was reduced by a factor of 2.5. But even with these savings, our TNT requirements are not fully met.

Back in October I went to visit P. Mostov, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply [Gossnab]. Pavel Ivanovich seemed to show an understanding of our predicament. Afterward we were

allocated 5,000 tonnes of explosive, but not the right one—it was not water-resistant. Yet, water inundation of our mineral deposits runs up to 80%, and probably nobody else in the world is extracting iron ore in that kind of hydrologic environment.

We see just one way out: To set up, as we did 10 years ago, our own shop for industrial blasting. Conditions for this exist: We have an operational sector test site for testing new types of explosives. We are stepping up explosion quality control by chief engineering services at the combine and mining administration. We have tested an even more promising explosive substance which is altogether TNT-free. We have built a facility for preparing 10,000 tonnes of this explosive a year. Yet we cannot get hold of the equipment we need anywhere. Nobody in the country is making machines to these specifications.

[Kulagin] Yet, as far as I know, Anatoliy Timofeyevich, you head an interdepartmental commission on explosives. With whom specifically have you raised the question of new technology?

[A. Kalashnikov] With our own Minister S. Kolpakov and with USSR Gossnab Chairman P. Mostov.... So far I have learned one thing: It seems that the problem cannot be solved without intervention by the USSR Council of Ministers.

[Kulagin] Let us assume that this question really cannot be tackled without help from the Council of Ministers. But why is the combine not meeting the demand to expand the mine's working face eastward? The mining administration collective considers this to be of paramount importance. Especially since the entire combine's future depends on it. I have seen for myself that the ventilation shaft and several subsidiary shops are now on the edge of the quarry. I was told by Sergey Yerygin, chairman of the mining administration trade union committee, that the question of shifting these facilities is nothing new. Talk about the mine's eastward development has been going on for almost 10 years now. But the limit seems to have been reached: The No. 5 section canteen has already closed down, and the miners' working face has been reduced to a minimum. According to the agreement on [miners'] demands, you should have given an answer on the quarry's future by 1 October, but much remains unclear to this day. Why?

[A. Kalashnikov] The point is that some of the facilities now on the edge of the quarry are subordinate to subdivisions of "Belgorodstroy" Territorial Construction Association which is not accountable to us. This point of the demands was coordinated not only with the leadership of the main administration for construction but also with the oblast soviet executive committee [oblispolkom].

[Kulagin] And what does this indicate?

[Yu. Golovin] So far, only that neither "Belgorodstroy" Chief V. Kovalev nor A. Kretov, oblispolkom deputy chairman for construction affairs, has even lifted a finger to meet the miners' demands which were coordinated with them. For example, in order to prepare a new ventilation shaft we had to spend 9 months persuading the "KMArudstroy" Trust's leadership, even though it was only a matter of no more than R140,000 for construction and installation work. The trust has only now approved the construction plans. But a year has been lost.

[A. Kalashnikov] There is no certainty that we will commission in the immediate future the automated shop which should have been commissioned back in 1989. The project is almost totally without precast ferroconcrete structures. The site stood idle for about 4 months. When it started coming back to life, there were no funds left to complete the work.

[Kulagin] If I might say so, your combine earns profits of up to R150 million a year. Could you not have set a few million rubles aside for urgent construction work?

[Yu. Golovin] Yes, there you have an economic paradox. After deductions for the wages fund, we are left with only R18 million from the R150 million. That is the departmental will. Next year, the quitrent charged by the ministry will increase by a further 6 percent.

[Kulagin] But let us turn again to the mining administration collective's main demand—the quarry's future development. Who should be taken to task?

[O. Polukhin] Primarily, of course, the city authorities and the combine leadership. True enough, actions by the "KMArudstroy" Trust and mainly by the "Belgorodstroy" Association were not monitored either by the former Ministry of Construction in the Southern Regions of the USSR or by the oblispolkom. On the other hand, neither the city soviet nor the Lebedinskiy Mining and Enriching Combine administration has been especially diligent in solving the most acute tasks. The miners live and work on the territory covered by Gubkin City Soviet. Soviet authorities are primarily responsible for their labor, daily life, prosperity, and health.

[Kulagin] Excuse me, Oleg Nikolayevich, but this is also nothing more than a statement. Who on the city soviet executive committee [gorispolkom] is specifically responsible for fulfilling the agreement on miners' demands?

[O. Polukhin] The gorispolkom set up a commission on social problems and ecology. It is headed by V. Klepatskiy, first deputy chairman of the gorispolkom. The party gorkom bureau also monitors the entire package of demands by the mining administration collective. [end Polukhin reply]

...We touched on only two of the main demands by miners from Lebedinskiy Mining and Enriching Combine—the quality of blasting operations and the quarry's future. We were convinced that the USSR Ministry of Metallurgy and Belgorod Oblispolkom still play the role

of observers, having shifted the entire burden of concern for smoothing the production pace of one of the sector's leading enterprises to the city authorities and the combine's administration.

It is evident that there is no effective feedback between the labor collective and the departments. This is why there have been no radical changes in the life of the thousands-strong mining collective. The editorial office takes it that leaders of the aforementioned ministries and the oblispolkom will now analyze the situation at Lebedinskiy Mining and Enriching Combine in the immediate future and will respond in a businesslike fashion to the miners' legitimate demands.

Ryabev Heads Talks Delegation

LD1501224990 Moscow TASS in English 2130 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Text] Novokuznetsk, Kemerovo Region January 15 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Grigoriy Shalakin:

The implementation of the protocols signed by the government commission following the mining strike in July 1989, as well as the implementation of the USSR Council of Ministers' Decree 608 of August 3, 1989, will be discussed by a government commission that arrived in the Kuznetsk basin today. The commission is headed by USSR Deputy Prime Minister lev Ryabev.

"The Kuznetsk coal basin means much to the country now and in the future. The efficiency of production in other regions largely depends on the successful work of miners in the area. For this purpose the government of the Soviet Union and the Russian Federation adopted a number of fundamentally important documents that give economic independence to the Kuznetsk basin, encourage its self-financing and ability to draw up region development programme," Lev Ryabev told TASS.

"The chief aim of the decisions comprising all aspects of the region's life is to resolve promptly the social problems that accumulated in the region. Conditions have been created for this, but there is a need for effort of the working people of the Kemerovo region. The government commission will also try to solve the problems posed by life today."

The commission will visit different cities of the region, will meet next collectives.

It will visit Prokopyevsk tomorrow and will analyse "regional protocol" that was coordinated with the regional strike committee of the Kuznetsk basin on July 17-18, 1989.

Ryabev-Miners Talks Held

PM1801104790 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 17 Jan 90 Second Edition p 2

[Own correspondent V. Kostyukovskiy report: "Kuzbass: Monitoring Joint Decisions. It Started with Differences of Opinion"]

[Text] A government commission has arrived in the Kuzbass headed by L. Ryabev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. The aim of its work is to supervise progress in implementing the documents signed during the July miners' strike by the workers' committees and representatives of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions. It was also decided to examine the implementation of the USSR Council of Ministers special resolution adopted in August 1989 on the country's coal regions.

The work of the commission and the workers' representatives began by clarifying two questions which Yu. Rudolf, acting chairman of the Council of Kuzbass Workers Committees, called "unpleasant." What powers does the present commission have? Simply to clarify the state of affairs? Or does it have the right to adopt some kind of agreed decisions making forward movement possible? Lev Dmitriyevich Ryabev explained that the powers are wide-ranging: to listen to and examine any proposals and adopt any reasonable agreed measures aimed at further deepening reform.

And the second question: During the "hot July" the Kuzbass miners several times expressed their mistrust of M.I. Shchadov as minister for the coal industry. It is clear that this question can only be resolved by the USSR Supreme Soviet. But how can talks be held in such conditions of mistrust?

"What if Mikhail Ivanovich participated in our work and was involved, but not as a commission member?" L. Ryabev asked.

Well, the workers' representative decided, in that case, let him attend...

The government commission came to the Kuzbass not least because of the urgent demands of the workers' committees, worried about progress in implementing the report on the agreed measures. And the main thing that is worrying them are the points concerning the enterprises' economic and legal independence and the reorganization of industrial management.

"To my knowledge," L. Ryabev said, "in the coal industry as a whole 251 enterprises have been transferred to full independence, including 108 mines. Of these, 152 enterprises, including 51 mines, are in Kemerovo Oblast. Independence has been granted to all collectives that have decided they wanted it. With regard to reorganization, concerns were created and the enterprises joined them voluntarily. They are also free to leave the concerns and form new associations on a voluntary basis."

This is the information at the commission's disposal. However, it turns out that the council of workers' committees has a different approach to these problems. In its opinion, corroborated by that of experts from the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department Institute of Coal, only five Kuzbass coal industry enterprises

possess a greater or lesser degree of "true" independence at the moment. Literally the evening before the minister gave permission—long requested—for the "Raspadskaya" coal mine to transfer to the lease system. These pioneers were given independence through their collectives' really selfless efforts and after long bureaucratic delays.

As for the rest... What question can there be of any independence or economic accountability if the necessary initial economic conditions are not created and if the price of coal remains, as before, lower than the cost of mining it. Indeed, "independence" in these conditions will inevitably turn into the most ordinary bankruptcy. It was suggested that a special group should be set up to do some work on this and submit proposals for an accounting price.

And the council of workers committees also has its own opinion about the reorganization of management. The "concerns" created preserve all their previous administrative edict functions and their former structure. That means that they were not reorganized, but merely that appearances were changed.

And so the collaboration started with such differences of opinion. At the same time it must be noted that it is marked by calm, attentiveness, and goodwill. This gives a basis for hopes that the differences of opinion will be overcome and that the government commission and the representatives of the workers' groups will find ways to implement the decisions adopted earlier with a view to advancing radical economic reform and improving the economic mechanism. And all this is vital, particularly if it is borne in mind that an experimental trial of a management mechanism based on self-government and self-financing is to be carried out in Kemerovo Oblast in 1990 under a union and republic government decision. Incidentally, the actual decision itself was also adopted through the insistence of the workers' committees, supported by the oblast party committee, the oblast soviet executive committee, the oblast trade union council, and the USSR people's deputies.

More on Ryabev Deliberations

LD1601154690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 16 Jan 90

[Text] The government commission headed by Ryabev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, which is in the Kuzbass, today commenced consideration of the so-called oblast protocol which was agreed upon with the regional strike committee in July 1989.

The results of the work jointly done by many union and republican ministries and departments with local party, soviet, and trade union bodies and workers committees is being summarized in a businesslike and constructive atmosphere. The discussion of the issue of offering independence to mines, open-cast and other Kuzbass enterprises was very lengthy. Interesting proposals have been received from both sides, and thus the final resolution of this matter has been postponed to a later date.

The first hours of the work of the government commission in the Kuzbass showed that a great many problems have accumulated there. Comrade Ryabev told a TASS correspondent representatives of workers' committees are vitally interested in resolving these problems. The issues are serious. We are jointly and urgently setting up commissions for some of them in order to make the right decisions. I would like to stress that changes in the Kuzbass are already taking place. For example, the volume of housing construction is rising by 1.4 to 1.5 times, and we plan to double the number of hospitals and clinics. There are greater allocations for culture and education. This is only a fleeting review of the decisions adopted by the government.

In fact, it is difficult to follow the rapidly-changing events in this industrial region. But here is the most important news of the day: Early this morning, at an expanded soviet of the labor collective of the Rasspadskaya mine, Shchadov, USSR minister of the coal industry, signed a document on switching this most important enterprise in the sector over to leasing. In this case, the interests of the ministry and the labor collective coincided, Comrade Shchadov commented. To develop the enterprise, the miners have taken upon themselves the obligation to properly fulfil orders. The ministry takes on the responsibility for the rational use of capital investment in the development of social and cultural amenities, and in fitting out the mine with modern equipment. One-of-a-kind models of this equipment are being produced for it.

Leasing is a progressive matter and no flash in the pan. Events at Rasspadskaya show that the concrete, joint work of the miners and specialists in the sector can bring good results, although questions remain which have to be brought into line with legislation. The search is continuing for decisions that are mutually beneficial for the country and the miners of the Kuzbass.

18 Jan Moscow Rally To Urge Election Boycott

Organized by 'Democratic Alliance'

LD1801031890 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2342 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, Jan 17 (TANJUG)—The informal Moscow political group "Democratic Alliance" today called on its followers to stage demonstrations against the forthcoming elections for city and republican soviets tomorrow.

The elections, planned for February and March, are expected to represent a major showdown between conservative forces and the advocates of perestroyka, according to political observers.

In a proclamation handed out on Moscow steets this evening, the leaders of the Democratic Alliance propose

that the rally calling for a boycott of the elections be held under the slogans "Down with the autocracy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union" and "Long live non-violent democratic revolution."

The Democratic alliance was set up a few months ago, and has branches in several Soviet cities. The number of its members or supporters has not been disclosed.

In its proclamation today, the Alliance attacks the monopoly of the Communist Party and assesses that the forthcoming elections are its "regular hunt" as "all perestroykas of totalitarianism always are."

It believes that at the forthcoming elections, all the blame would be put on the newly-elected progressive and democratic forces, and therefore calls for their boycott.

The Democratic alliance urges a restoration of the constitutional assembly in the country, which was—in its words—"disbanded by the Bolsheviks" during the October Revolution. The alliance also advocates a "peaceful revolution."

15 Arrested

AU1901081290 Paris AFP in English 0225 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, Jan 19 (AFP)—Truncheon-wielding militiamen arrested at least 15 demonstrators here Thursday as they broke up an authorised protest by about 1,000 members of an opposition movement, Democratic Union.

The protest, backing a return to the Soviet Union's constituent assembly of 1918, was being held in Gorkiy Street when militia units used truncheons and kicked demonstrators out of the way, an AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE reporter said.

The rally was the latest in a series held by the Democratic Union, which wants to become a political party, opposing the Soviet Communist Party.

Abalkin On Reasons for Nationwide Meeting

LD1801180690 Moscow TASS in English 1756 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 18 TASS—It was necessary to hold a meeting with representatives of the working people at the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee in order to adjust the economic course and work out the party's platform for the 28th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, Academician Leonid Abalkin, deputy prime minister of the USSR, told TASS.

He commented on the course of a nationwide Meeting of Representatives of Workers, Farmers, Engineers and Technicians, which opened here today.

Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev is participating in the meeting, which attracted more than 1000 representatives of the working people.

Abalkin noted that the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies had worked out a long-term economic programme, but it needs to be adjusted to the rapidly changing situation.

Tension in society has heightened over the past year and this is felt in everything: the state of the consumer market, the functioning of transport, the supply system, the aggravation of ethnic conflicts, growth of discontent. It is necessary to think about ways to adjust the course of perestroyka in accordance with these changes and the opinion of the working class.

The other reason for holding the meeting is that the party is about to adopt a programme statement about its strategy in perestroyka and democratisation of the party and society.

When the renewal of society started in 1985, it was rightly said that the Soviet Communist Party should set the example in perestroyka, but it is ever more apparent now that it lags behind the pace of changes in other areas.

The party should clearly state its intentions and determine its place in the life of society, its relations with other political forces.

Supreme Soviet Deputy Says USSR Disintegrating

AU1801195590 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 18 Jan 90 p 2

[Report by "AG": "Fear of Violence Growing in East Europe—Soviet Troops To Be Withdrawn From CSSR"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted]

"The Soviet Empire Is Bound To Disintegrate"

Arkadiy Murashev, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet and a member of the opposition group surrounding Boris Yeltsin, said in Vienna on Tuesday [16 January] that the disintegration of the Soviet empire is unavoidable. He said that Moscow is unable to cope with the tensions between the nationalities. In addition, the economic problems are unsettling the Soviet Union, he said.

Murashev said that he was convinced of Gorbachev's historic importance; however, sooner or later, he would have to decide against the old apparatus and for a comprehensive reform of society. He said that so far, Gorbachev had tried to balance between the various currents within the party. Murashev believes that in the forthcoming elections of the Republic Soviets, the opposition of the old bureaucracy will manifest itself. Murashev believes that the party could split into several groups at the next CPSU Congress.

Turkmen Supreme Soviet Elects Niyazov Chairman

LD1801154490 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Text] The first session of the supreme soviet of the Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic began its work in Ashkhabad today. The agenda and order of work were approved. As a result of a secret ballot Comrade Niyazov, first secretary of the Republic, was elected as chairman of the Supreme Soviet.

Far East Development Requires Open Policy

PM1701155190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Jan 90 Second Edition p 5

[Article by Doctor of Historical Sciences Ye. Bazhanov: "Shift of Emphasis. Thoughts on Soviet Policy in the Asia-Pacific Region"]

[Text] There is an opinion in this country and abroad that the Soviet Union has only in recent years, with the beginning of perestroyka, started to devote attention to the Asia-Pacific region. It is hard to agree with this point of view.

This region was covered by Soviet policy in the past as well. The fact that its essence was different is another matter. In the twenties and thirties Moscow concentrated its efforts on developing the communist movement in the Asian countries. Then the task of restraining Japanese aggression came to the fore.

The year 1945 was marked by war with Japan.

After it ended the USSR was involved in an intense struggle with the U.S. camp for political and ideological dominance in the Asia-Pacific region. By the mid-sixties a second front of confrontation—with Beijing—had emerged. And, finally, a third front opened in Afghanistan.

This strong-arm policy swallowed up huge resources and was a heavy burden on the country without producing any dividends. The threat to our security did not diminish; on the contrary, it increased. The USSR's prestige declined, its political positions were undermined, and the Far Eastern regions lagged further and further behind in their economic development during that period. Perestroyka has made fundamental changes to an active but largely erroneous and dead-end policy. The new Soviet leadership came up with a large-scale program aimed at decreasing confrontation, finding political settlements to seats of conflict, implementing disarmament, developing friendly relations with the Pacific countries, and organizing international economic cooperation.

As a result of these efforts the Land of the Soviets has not just notably rectified its affairs but has also made a tangible contribution to an overall improvement in the situation across the endless expanses of the Pacific.

We cannot yet say that the Asia-Pacific region has already made an irreversible breakthrough for the better. New and even more vigorous steps will be needed from all states, including the USSR. A great deal of what we are doing in the region and the way in which we are doing it continues to be misunderstood by or unacceptable to others. Some of the reproaches against the Soviet Union are groundless, while others, on the contrary, seem entirely justified. I think, however, that there is no point in arguing with our opponents. A more reasonable path is to seriously study the situation and sentiments in the countries of this part of the world and to cogently explain our course.

It is particularly important to clarify the goals which we are following in the Pacific region. Has Moscow really set itself its old "supertask" of dominating the Asia-Pacific region—as is sometimes claimed—and have only the methods of achieving that domination changed? An objective observer will discover that this is not the case. The Soviet course in the region is increasingly determined by three main goals: safeguarding Soviet security, solving domestic economic problems, and winning the status of a respected member of political and social life in Asia and the Pacific.

The Soviet Union states that it will strive to safeguard its own security by taking account of the realities of the modern world and observing a balance of interests. These words are to a considerable extent backed up by practical steps. At the same time, certain approaches from the past still have to be overcome. The attempts to win military parity with the United States in the Pacific zone are one such approach.

Let us ask the question: Is this realistic and will it promote the USSR's tasks in the Asia-Pacific region?

We recall that the Americans have long been in the region and are firmly established there. California and its neighboring states—some of the most developed in the United States—are wholly oriented toward the Pacific (Hawaii is actually located in the center of the Pacific). The Asia-Pacific countries account for more than half of U.S. foreign trade turnover. The United States is a recognized participant in the economic life of this part of the world, and is a most important and welcome partner for the Pacific states. As for the Pentagon presence, it came about as a result of World War II—the Americans fought the Japanese throughout the Pacific and remained there, as they see it, to safeguard stability.

In the late forties, with the start of the "cold war," a considerable number of Asia-Pacific countries, adopting the positions of "containing communism," supported the maintenance and even the increase of U.S. military activeness in the region in one form or another.

This position can be seen today too.

The Soviet Union, without any substantial economic positions in the region at all and having lost even the

political capital it had before as a result of its dispute with China, embarked in the seventies on an expedited buildup of its military potential in the Asia-Pacific region.

Now the emphasis in our strategy has shifted, but demands for equality with the Pentagon continue to be heard. Raising the question in this way may appeal to our close friends, but we have few such friends in the region. The rest will wonder why the USSR, which has rejected the superpower principle, demands parity. In order nonetheless to lord it over the Pacific and to boss others around?

Our foreign economic activity in the Asia-Pacific region is still by no means perfect. In theory we have reached the conclusion that the resolution of domestic economic tasks is only possible through extensive cooperation with foreign countries. Progress in this area, however, has been meager. And how could it be otherwise, if the vast regions of the Far East and Siberia, including "Russia's eastern gateway"—Vladivostok—remain closed or inaccessible to foreigners.

The Pacific cities of China and the United States are literally inundated with foreign entrepreneurs, while the USSR continues to cut itself off from potential partners. Tough legislation and arbitrary decisions by certain ministries and departments bind the Far Easterners hand and foot and make economic activity by foreign companies there a virtually intolerable undertaking. In this connection, incidentally, it is quite reasonable for others to point out that Soviet commercial representatives are free to move about in the domestic markets of Singapore or the Philippines, but businessmen from those countries cannot take a step in the USSR without facing obstacles and impediments.

We sometimes hear demands that Russian natural resources should not be traded away and that land should not be sold to foreign merchants or else our descendants will curse this generation. But let us not forget that our valuable resources—oil again—could be supplanted in 20 or 30 years by more modern, artificial materials. So is it not better to sell these resources and obtain in return advanced technology, including what is needed to produce the raw material substitutes of the future? This route seems more sensible than a policy of medieval mercantilism.

With regard to land, we could cite the example of South Korea. For centuries the Koreans did not allow foreigners into their country, and their land even earned the nickname of "the hermit kingdom." The result was that Korea lagged hugely behind the advanced peoples in the socioeconomic sphere. Then, three or four decades ago, South Korea opened its doors wide to the outside world. The result? It is well known. Their descendants will hardly curse the Koreans of the 20th century for changing their policy and promoting a mighty leap by their nation in the direction of progress. Just as, for instance, the Dutch do not complain about their forefathers who, in times gone by, allowed entrepreneurs from around the world to "do business" on the tiny land hard won from the sea that is the Netherlands.

Our power's political positions and prestige in the Asia-Pacific region have also suffered as a result of of our weak economic base. Because of the way in which the Far East lags behind its dynamically developing neighbors and because of the lack of close economic ties with the Asia-Pacific countries, the Soviet Union is still seen in the region as a kind of outside power trying to infiltrate the Pacific by using strong-arm methods and political maneuver.

In general, our policy has plenty of problems in the East. These cannot be solved at a stroke. Nor should we rush things. In order to be reasonable and far-sighted a policy should be developed gradually and utilize without fail the collective efforts of politicians, scientists, journalists, and the public. Otherwise the mistakes and shortcomings which existed in the past will regrettably be repeated.

Mordovia Sets Example of Interethnic Harmony

PM1101095990 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 10 Jan 90 Second Edition pp 1-2

[Article by A. Berezin, first secretary of the Mordovian CPSU Oblast Committee: "Embryos of Growth. The 60th Anniversary of the Mordovian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic"]

[Excerpts] It is an anniversary on Mordovian soil: 60 years ago, on 10 January 1930, the red flag of state autonomy was hoisted between the Moksha and Sura rivers. Burned by the Promethean fire of the October Revolution, it was a turning point in the Mordovian people's difficult destiny. The acquisition of statehood was for them a historic chance to be transformed into a socialist nation—an equal among equals in our multinational fatherland. The Mordovian people made full use of that chance, traveling in a few decades a path of economic and social development that could have taken centuries. [passage omitted]

Guests who visit Mordovia often call it a country in miniature. It is similar to the USSR both in the shape of its borders and in the multinational composition of its population. Today representatives of more than 40 large and many small ethnic groups live between the Moksha and Sura Rivers. They are predominantly Russians—58%, Mordvins—34%, and Tartars—5%. This mixed population of ethnic groups has left its mark on interethnic relations in the republic. But the diversity of interests is not to the detriment of a stable equilibrium. For 60 years our nations and ethnic groups have lived as a harmonious family and have together emerged from the social ills of poverty and illiteracy. Both in joy and in suffering the Mordovian people have always felt the reliable shoulder of their faithful friend the Russian people, who, after the October Revolution, took upon

themselves the most difficult burden of helping their smaller brothers to embark on the road of progress. They have carried out this sacred international mission, setting marvelous exampies of interethnic virtue.

At any event, Mordvins, Tartars, Russians, and others resolve the burning questions of the socioeconomic life of the autonomous republic—whose administrative organs provide equal representation for the people of different nationalities who live there—on an equal basis. We also solve the problems of the further development of the Mordovian socialist nation without recriminations or unfair backbiting—a specially elaborated program has been adopted in the republic on this score.

Anyone who lightly states that the nationalities question in Mordovia does not exist as such would not be telling the truth. It undoubtedly does exist, but is seen in its sociocultural aspect.

A special feature is the development of the language—without which a nation simply ceases to exist. Sensing in recent years a weakening of the Mordovian side of the republic's historical bilingualism, we are gradually eradicating previous distortions. This year we have increased the number of Mordovian-language schools by 22. Naturally, while strictly observing the principle of voluntary participation. There are now 336 such schools in the republic, or 40 percent of the total number of schools. Mordovian-language television and radio programs have become a regular feature. A number of rayon newspapers have started issuing special publications in ethnic languages—Erzya, Moksha, and Tartar.

Perestroyka is expanding the scope for all peoples to freely develop toward mankind's cherished dream. The CPSU platform on the nationalities issue guarantees autonomous republics a substantial expansion of their rights in all spheres of state, economic, and cultural building. As Soviet socialist states, they have an opportunity to resolve within their own borders all issues of administrative and territorial division, nature protection, the development of national culture and language, and the protection of monuments. Of course, they will be concerned for citizens living beyond the bounds of their own national-territorial formations. Yes, we consider areas densely populated by Mordvins—who are dispersed throughout the country from the Volga to Armenia and from Kaliningrad to Sakhalin—to be organic parts of our republic. There are no fewer than 880,000 Mordavians who have moved to different parts of the country. It is our moral duty to help them to retain their ethnic identity. One option for implementing this idea is to set up oblast cultural centers for Mordvins living outside the republic.

Each people has one and only one history. It cannot be selectively hushed up or rewritten. The Mordovian people's history is indissolubly bound up with the history of the entire country. Its lesson is that it is better to live in a single international home than to disperse to isolated national apartments. We are all bound by a common destiny and common goals. Together we will build a new life.

Economic

Caucasus State of Emergency Affects Rail System

904H0111A Moscow GUDOK in Russian
17 Jan 90 p 1

[Comment by V. Volkov, member of the USSR Railways Ministry Collegium: "The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Ukase on the Declaration of a State of Emergency in NKAO and Other Rayons"; first paragraph is GUDOK introduction]

[Text] We asked V. Volkov, member of the USSR Railways Ministry Collegium, to comment on that portion of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Ukase which deals directly with the operation of the railroads.

The introduction of a state of emergency in the Transcaucasus region is a measure we were forced to take. All the work accomplished earlier here by party and soviet organs failed to yield the desired result. Railway transportation in this region was functioning interruptedly.

An emergency situation has come about. Extremist elements, people's fronts, and other informal organizations have flouted the decisions properly made with respect to this region; therefore, the ukase was issued.

What can we expect from this? First of all, the conduct of meetings, rallies, and demonstrations is prohibited, especially in the areas of railroad enterprises and on the tracks, which the informals were taking advantage of. Crowds would gather at stations and block the tracks; in short, they did their utmost to obstruct train movement. The transportation breakdown was felt not only in republics of the Transcaucasus, but in other regions as well. Thus, up to 1,000 trains on the North Caucasus railroad were delayed at intermediate stations. Transportation losses over the past half year amount to R500 million. Compensation must be made for this and, of course, a normal life must be secured for the region.

The special mode of operations for enterprises envisages the binding fulfillment of obligations on the part of all employees, especially railroad workers. Introduction of the state of emergency does not mean that everyone will get to his work station and the situation will immediately become normal. Protection is therefore envisaged for practically every transportation facility. Patrolling is being organized for railroad strips; train escorts are being established. In addition to the departmental security which has certain particular facilities, MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] and Ministry of Defense Forces, state security troops are being engaged in this effort. Such measures safeguard, on the one hand, the work of all who must operate and make up trains, etc. On the other hand, they protect the transport system from undesirable elements that might encroach upon their operation.

It is true that a curfew will be imposed in certain regions. This has the power to cut short any negative activities affecting transportation. The emergency measures also make provision for excluding unauthorized persons from railroad facilities, especially since we have seen agitation being conducted to prevent work from being accomplished. Responsibility is stipulated in the ukase.

In order to ensure that all these measures are carried out, specialists from the USSR Railways Ministry apparatus, headed by deputy ministers, have gone to Baku, Yerevan, and Tbilisi. Their mission is to ensure normal train operation and coordinate the activity of railroad personnel with the military district, internal affairs and KGB organs, and party and soviet organs of the republic.

We believe the entire blockade will be lifted from the railroad on 17 January, and rail operation will start up in the near future.

Let me remind that violations of labor discipline in this situation are examined based on the law presently in effect and the railroad statutes.

Higher Fines for Rail Freight Delays Announced

PM1901094590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
17 Jan 90 Second Edition p 2

["Telegram" from L. Voronin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, with PRAVDA editorial office commentary: "Five-fold Fine"]

[Text] An extremely tense situation has developed in the country recently over the dispatching of freight cars and the shipment of freight and containers from train stations. Freight car idle time during loading and unloading operations has also increased sharply while waiting for loading bays to be vacated. In this connection serious difficulties have been created with the supply of freight cars and containers to the national economy.

To improve the use of rolling stock in January-April 1990 and increase the mutual responsibility of freight consigners, consignees, and railroads for above-norm freight car and container idle times, USSR Council of Ministers Resolution No 30 of 11 January 1990 increases five-fold from 15 January through 30 April the scale of the fines imposed by the USSR Railway Rules on the consigners and consignees of freight for delaying longer than allowed freight cars and containers due to be loaded, unloaded, or transferred and also the scale of the fines imposed on railroads under Articles 50 and 92 of the Railway Rules for delaying the supply of freight cars for loading and unloading and the removal of freight cars from the loading and unloading bays.

The amount raised by increasing the scale of the fines will be paid by the consigners and consignees of freight and the railroads to the union budget.

It is important to inform all enterprises, associations, and organizations which use the railroads for the shipment of freight and containers of the USSR Council of Ministers resolution now. It is necessary to take all additional measures to reduce freight car and container idle times during loading and unloading and increase the amount of freight and containers shipped out of train stations. Special attention should be paid to the organization of this work on nonworking days.

Editorial Office Commentary: The government has taken this extraordinary measure to instill order on the railroads. But can the method that has been introduced be called truly economic? No, it cannot. After all, even with higher reciprocal fines, enterprises and railroads will strive primarily to achieve a favorable balance of fines. If you receive more from your subcontractor than you pay out, you're still ahead.

Such fines, it seems, are the transfer of resources from one general pocket to another.

Both production workers and transport workers would view matters quite differently if those people guilty of delaying the supply, loading, and unloading of transport facilities compensated for the damage done from their own pockets. This question also requires rapid solution.

Delays in Unloading Grain Ships Fought

PM1901103590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
18 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 2

[R. Ignatyev report under the rubric "Fact and Comment": "Grain Ships Waiting To Be Unloaded"]

[Text] Currently 108 ships with imported grain are waiting to be unloaded at the country's ports. Our correspondent has asked Yu. Volmer, USSR minister of the maritime fleet, to describe the situation which has taken shape.

At the moment 2.63 million tonnes of grain have piled up in port elevators and on board ships. This grain has arrived from abroad. Unfortunately, we are unable to unload this grain and dispatch it on time because of a shortage of railroad freight cars.

A complex situation has taken shape in ports such as Novorossiysk, where 750,000 tonnes of grain have accumulated, Odessa (670,000 tonnes), Ilichevsk (450,000 tonnes), and Leningrad (160,000 tonnes).

The situation is further complicated by the fact that by the end of January another 4 million tonnes of grain are expected to have arrived from abroad. We expect 1 million tonnes of grain from European countries alone. Ships carrying grain will also arrive from the United States and Canada, South America, and Australia. Our ports are virtually chockablock; 25 ships carrying grain arrived in December 1989. Unloading operations have not even started on 59 ships, although they have been standing idle for several weeks.

Incidentally, of the 108 ships waiting in the country's ports, 52 are foreign ships which have arrived from Cyprus, Greece, Liberia, Panama, and other countries.

The delays in unloading may cost dearly. Last year, for instance, we were forced to pay out $32 million just for disruptions in unloading operations and delays of ships in port. Unless urgent steps are taken now, this figure may be considerably higher in 1990. So far during the first 10 days of January there has been a shortfall of 6,650 freight cars for the transportation of grain alone.

Naturally, we are adopting measures to ensure the dispatch of freight from ports as quickly as possible. We understand that the freight car situation in the country is difficult. The events currently taking place in Transcaucasia are also having an adverse impact. Nonetheless it is necessary to find a way out of this situation, and first and foremost, to establish order at seaports regarding the timely unloading of freight cars. In the first 10 days of January, for instance, our ports have failed to process 466 freight cars within the set deadlines. This figure is for grain alone.

I fully support the measures introduced by the government beginning 15 January, i.e. stiffer fines for delaying freight cars. Maybe the higher fines will force enterprise, organization, and institution managers and collectives to organize the timely unloading of freight cars.

The difficult situation regarding the unloading and dispatch of grain from the ports is putting a strain on supplies. V. Nikitin, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Food and Purchases, has said:

I would like to say: When the schedule for grain imports was compiled, the actual potential of the Ministry of Railways was taken into account. The possibility of difficulties arising in the the supply of freight cars was taken into consideration. Nonetheless, the situation with the unloading and dispatch of grain from ports is much worse than was expected. Violations of labor discipline and sloppy work are just some of the reasons. Yet everything is so interconnected in the national economy today that indiscipline on the part of just one person has a negative impact on the work of whole collectives and sometimes even individual sectors.

The grain currently arriving in the ports is feed grain. It requires immediate processing. Disruptions could also arise in food supply. This must not be permitted. Right now individual mixed-feed enterprises in Kirghizia, the Transcaucasian republics, and some oblasts in Russia are idling, or operating on starvation rations.

In early February grain for human consumption rather than feed grain will begin arriving in our country. Unless the situation is rectified, disruptions will occur. At individual flour mills grain stocks are limited.

Reaction to Estonian Price Hikes Reported

904A0145A Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 17 Jan 90 p 2

[Report by V. Proskura: "The Estonian 'Experiment'"]

[Text] Tallinn—I. Toome, chairman of the Estonian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers, had a hard time at his last press conference. The pointed nature of the questions put to the premier went on this occasion beyond the customary "norm." There was substantial reason for this.

The Estonian Agroindustrial Committee and its "Estplodovoshch" Association had in conjunction with the Estonian SSR Ministry of Trade served up the republic's inhabitants a New Year's surprise, raising as of 1 January the retail prices of fruit and vegetable products, and—what's more—the prices of potatoes several times over. The following fact served as the immediate excuse. Adopting the republic budget for 1990, the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet had three days prior to the New Year's party failed to provide for the state subsidy for potatoes and vegetables—the R11 million which had previously been paid to agroindustrial farms.

Of course, this "forgetfulness" is not explained by the pre-festive preoccupations of the members of parliament. It was the first practical step en route to the introduction of regional cost accounting and local self-management and self-financing. Less than a week later the republic government urgently canceled the innovation, lowering prices to the previous level. This came in response to public anger.

Those who suffered most, of course, were pensioners, the students and working youth, and also the newly arrived working people and "migrants," who have no relatives among the local villagers, and the more so in that the public catering system also immediately "echoed" accordingly the price rises in trade.

Many people were particularly annoyed by the "guerrilla method" of implementation of this action. The increase in the price of basic necessities came like a bolt from the blue. Without parliamentary or any other debate, without candid and specific discussion with the public. Emphatic protests in this connection were lodged by the unions, the United Work Force Council, and other organizations of the republic's working class.

Nor did the republic press evince delight in connection with the hasty "reform."

The increase in the price of potatoes struck not only at people's pockets but also their pride: Estonia is, after all, traditionally called the "potato republic."

The chairman of the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers acknowledged that the departments in his charge had been "overzealous." It transpires that this matter had not been agreed with the premier and that he had not even been notified as to the measure that was being prepared. According to I. Toome, the republic government was contemplating merely collating, and by 1 February at that, proposals of the economic-planning machinery concerning the proposed price rises. It was planned to include not only vegetables but also meat and dairy products and a number of nonfood commodities

here. However, government officials in some respects left work undone, but in others were manifestly in too great a hurry.

However, two days after the cancellation of the "vegetable initiative" some prices in the republic were increased, this time in accordance with an Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet decree. Tobacco products have increased in price by half, the price of beer has doubled, and the cost of liquor has increased by 20 percent. True, in Estonian Government circles this is not called a price increase but a regional state price surcharge. And the additional profit from the sale of cigarettes, beer, and wine is not registered via the corresponding item of the republic budget (mandatory payments to all-union coffers would be inevitable in this case) but paid into Estonia's so-called nonfiscal social fund. The center has no right to touch this fund, the Estonian SSR authorities believe.

February 1 is not that far away; the republic government intends by this time to have decided, on the basis of the proposals of the administrative-economic apparatus and the advisory group, the question of a more concentrated price increase. The chairman of the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers assured the public that questions of compensation for material loss which the public will incur will have been critically evaluated by this date. Everything will be done in an atmosphere of total glasnost.

According to I. Toome's statement, the Estonian Ministry of Economics (it has just been formed on the basis of the republic State Planning Committee) and other government subdivisions have been instructed by the Estonian SSR leadership to investigate how the spontaneous "vegetable syndrome" was born in the depths of the apparatus.

Scientific

Cosmos-2055 Satellite Launched 17 Jan

LD1801085490 Moscow TASS in English 0848 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 18 TASS—The Soviet Union launched the "Cosmos-2055" artificial earth satellite on Wednesday with the use of the "Soyuz" rocket booster.

The satellite carries scientific equipment to continue space research.

The satellite was put into an orbit with the following parameters:
—The initial period of revolution—89.6 minutes,
—The maximum distance from the earth surface (in apogee)—280 kilometers,
—The minimum distance from the earth surface (in perigee)—251 kilometers,
—The orbit inclination—62.8 degrees.

In addition to the scientific equipment, the satellite carries a radio system to precisely measure orbit elements and a radio telemetric system to broadcast data on the operation of devices and scientific equipment.

The satellite's equipment is functioning normally.

The coordination and computer centre is processing the incoming data.

Mir Cosmonauts Planning 26 Jan Spacewalk

LD1801095290 Moscow TASS in English 0804 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 18 TASS—Aleksandr Viktorenko and Aleksandr Serebrov, who have now entered their fifth month aboard the Mir space station, are again preparing for a space walk. Officials of the flight control centre told TASS that it is scheduled for January 26.

Previous space walks took place on January 8 and 11. The cosmonauts set a record by walking 35 meters away from their "orbital home." All in all, the commander and flight engineer stayed outside the spaceship for about six hours.

The third walk will not be the last. They will make other space walks on February 4 and 5 when they will ride a "space motorbike." This vehicle will enable a cosmonaut to manoeuver around the spaceship and to a distance away from it.

Aleksey Leonov was the first man in the world to walk in space. He did this 25 years ago. Svetlana Savitskaya was the first woman to walk outside a spaceship. French cosmonaut Jean-Loup Chretien stepped into space out of the Soviet Mir orbital complex in 1988.

French Cosmonaut To Work at Mir Station

LD1701190690 Moscow TASS in English 1850 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] Paris January 17 TASS—A French cosmonaut will make a 12-day space flight on board the Soviet orbital space station Mir in 1992, Paul Quiles, french minister of communications and space, said here today.

The space expedition, Antares, will enable French specialists to conduct various experiments in space medicine, psychology and biology, official government spokesman Louis le Pensec said. According to Louis le Pensec, part of the overall sum of 80 million francs needed to prepare and conduct the flight will be donated by the French National Centre of Space Studies. Usually the cost of such flights is about twice as high. This will be donated by the French National Centre of Space Studies. Usually the cost of such flights is about twice as high. This is why the agreement concluded with the USSR is evidence of "privileged relations with the USSR," he pointed out.

Details on Decision To Move Ulyanovsk Radar

LD1701223890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] The duty tours at a powerful radar station which meticulously kept watch on the northern outskirts of Ulyanovsk have been abolished. On orders from the USSR defense minister it is being moved to another location which is safe for the population. This decision was made at the insistence of Ulyanovsk deputies to prevent possible harm to the health of the city's inhabitants. Experts invited by the deputies to Ulyanovsk competely concluded that the area close to the radar station exceeds by tens of times the maximum allowed norm of density level, while over 140,000 people live in the zone which is a danger to health. Doctors quite justifiably warned that among this section of the population there eventually was the chance of an upsurge in cardiovascular illnesses and various defects in eyesight and other important organs.

In this situation there had to be one of two mutually exclusive solutions. Either mothball the new housing areas, and move all the inhabitants of Ulyanovsk—who had already received well-appointed apartments there—to other regions of the city, or else dismantle the radar station after having taken care to grant it another site. However, both decisions required additional financial and material expenditure. There was a clash between the interests of the various departments. To the joy of the people of Ulyanovsk, the Defense Ministry considered it expedient to support the position of the city's elected representatives and to relocate the station to a site remote from the oblast center.

Military

Norway Told of Fissile Materials in Sunken Sub

PM1701095690 Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 12 Jan 90 p 3

[Report by Harald Brynildsen: "Sunken Submarine Has Plutonium on Board"]

[Text] The nuclear-powered Soviet submarine that sank in the Barents Sea 11 April last year had a nuclear reactor containing 2 kg of Plutonium-239. The Russians themselves are the source of the information about the quantity of radioactive material in the reactor.

"We can now assess the total amount of radioactivity which could leak from the reactor," Director Knut Gussgard of the State Nuclear Inspectorate told AFTENPOSTEN. Gussgard is very pleased with the open reply the Soviet Russians have given the Norwegian authorities—a reply which covers a *military* nuclear installation.

"I think that this improves security—unlike secrecy about such things," Gussgard said. "Actually it is quite sensational that we have been given information as precise as in the present case," he said.

In addition to plutonium, the reply also covers Strontium-90 and Cesium-137. The quantities of these elements are given in curies—420,000 curies for the first and a little more for the second.

It was already know that the submarine (of the type called "Mike" by NATO) had two torpedoes on board, probably with as much as 10 kg of plutonium, or possibly Uranium-235, in each. Director Gussgard said that the risk attached to these weapons is not primarily leakage, but that some "adventure-hungry" divers, for example, will salvage them at some point in the future.

The quantity of fissile material in the nuclear reactor is modest in comparison with what the weapons contain.

It was the Action Committee for Nuclear Accidents in Peacetime which asked the Soviet authorities in a letter about the quantity of radioactive material in the nuclear reactor. The letter was handed over by the Norwegian Embassy in Moscow 11 November and the reply was received a week ago.

It is possible to estimate the active life of the nuclear reactor at about a year. The submarine was fairly new, with a hull designed to withstand particularly high pressures. It is lying at a depth of 2,000 meters. When it sank, a large part of its crew—the captain and 41 others—lost their lives.

General on Changes in Training of Military Engineers

AU1701083590 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 10 Jan 90 p 4

[Interview with Lieutenant General Viktor Ustinov, director of the Military Engineers' Academy in Moscow, by Roland Heine: "Many Dogmas Are Deeply Rooted"]

[Excerpt] BERLINER ZEITUNG: What has changed at the Academy during the past few years?

Ustinov: Above all, all training programs were newly drafted. The basis is the topical doctrine of the Warsaw Pact states, according to which the alliance has a defensive character. What had to be changed were the contents and the form of the theoretical and practical subjects. In this connection, we granted our scientists far-reaching independence. In the future we also want to teach general history and literature, as well as ethics and aesthetics. We should not simply train military engineers, but we must see man as a personality. We have introduced individual curriculums and other forms of promoting the best, aimed at developing independence. We have become very flexible in the selection of training forms and methods. At the same time we are in the process of reducing the number of students and teachers—a consequence of the unilateral reduction of the Soviet Armed Forces.

Our biggest problem in this context is that, above all, many older teachers and trainers must overcome their tendency to come up with traditional solutions. This is very difficult, because many dogmas are deeply rooted.

The most promising path of speeding up this process is giving young people more opportunities.

This is also why we have created possibilities of actual participation in the making of decisions. For example, the assemblies of officers now play a much greater role than ever before. The social activity of the officer trainee has increased enormously. The teaching staff must adapt to this. We have carried out opinion polls on topical measures of how to run academies and, whenever possible, we implement the results in practice without any delay. [passage omitted]

Complaints About Army Conditions Rebutted

PM1701132790 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Jan 90 First Edition p 1

[TASS report entitled "We Support Honest Discussion: About a Speech"]

[Text] A speech by writer V. Yasukaytite at the 11 January Vilnius meeting between M.S. Gorbachev and representatives of the republic's creative and scientific intelligentsia contained claims against the USSR Defense Ministry on a number of questions relating to military service by young draftees from the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR]. Here are the comments of Colonel General G. Krivosheyev, deputy chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, to your TASS correspondent in this connection.

"I should first like to stress that our last thought is to hide or play down the shortcomings in Armed Forces life. They do exist, and that goes for bullying, too. We are rightly criticized for that. We favor open, honest discussion with public representatives on all questions. I believe that it will be all the more productive, the more reasoned, balanced, and the less emotional it is. For that reason I can only express regret at the definite emotional coloring of the writer's speech.

"Now for the essence of the claims. It is hard for me to judge what sources of information V. Yasukaytite uses when she talks about a Defense Ministry promise to allow a large proportion of the republic's draftees to remain in the Baltic Military District. No one gave such a promise. The USSR Defense Minister's reply to the republic's leaders in April 1989 said that, in view of what was really feasible, it had been decided to send up to 20% of Lithuanian SSR draftees for service in the Baltic Military District's forces. The real picture is this: Last year 26.9% of draftees from the republic remained on its territory. If you add to that figure the Lithuanian servicemen serving in the Leningrad, Belorussia, Moscow, and Kiev Military Districts and in the Baltic Fleet, it is over 80%.

"The speech cited deaths of military servicemen. Yes, there have been deaths, unfortunately. Without going into the causes now (that is separate discussion) I want to stress that, for us, every such instance means pain and tragedy. It is thoroughly investigated. We understand what the loss of a son means to a mother or father. But no matter how heavy the loss, here too I think it unforgivable to abandon objectivity. It was stated that last December six Lithuanian servicemen died. But the truth is that in the month in question not a single Lithuanian military servicemen died in any unit of the Soviet Army or Navy. The writer's allegation that there are norms for losses on exercises and maneuvers is utterly bewildering. Obscene "norms" of that kind do not exist. The writer's claim that the army is a spreader of AIDS is also left on her conscience. There are no AIDS sufferers in the army.

"I should like to take advantage of this opportunity to address writers in the republic, including V. Yasukaytite: Let us work together more determinedly to prepare young people for army service. Consider the following figures. In 1987, 365 young men of draft age were convicted of various violations of the law in the republic, and in 1988 the figure was 485. An alarming statistic, you will agree. It is because of grave shortcomings in the education of young people. I think that there is work to do here for all of us, and that goes for the republic's literary community too.

"One last point. The best means of avoiding false rumors and misinformation is to go and see everything for yourself. We are ready to help representatives of the public in the republic who want to see for themselves how their fellow countrymen are actually serving."

Anxiety Over USSR Military Project on Border

LD1601203290 Budapest MTI in Engish 1925 GMT 16 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 16 (MTI)—On Monday, "Panorama," a political magazine of the Hungarian television, broadcast shots about an alleged military project built in Soviet Subcarpathia and interviews with some locals who expressed anxiety over the construction. Since the project is being built near the Hungarian border, an MTI correspondent asked Colonel Gyorgy Keleti, spokesman for the Ministry of Defence, whether the ministry had formally inquired about the project.

Since the Ministry of Defence was informed about the project by the population some weeks ago, it asked the competent officials of the Soviet Army for further information. According to the answer, which arrived some days ago, a radio locator station is being built in the vicinity of Mukachevo. The electromagnetic field intensity generated by the project will remain well below the internationally accepted limit both in the vicinity of the project and along the border. The station is located and its aerial directed in a way that they do not endanger the population and the environment either around the project or in Hungary. The station is not equipped, and will never be equipped, by any nuclear reactor, Colonel Gyorgy Keleti said.

Independent Military Experts Group Formed

LD1701115990 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0930 GMT 17 Jan 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A new public organization has begun operating in Moscow—the Independent Group of Military Experts [Nezavisimaya Voennaya Ekspertiza]. Here is a report from M. Ponomarev.

[Begin recording] [Ponomarev, over video of conference in session; delegates mostly in civilian dress, some uniformed officers] Representatives of the Ministry of Defense, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and military academies have been invited to join the work of the expert group, in addition to major scientists who are indisputable experts in their sphere. The organizers also took care to ensure that the Committee of Soldiers' Mothers took part. These people are competent at least in regard to what concerns their own children.

[A.B. Pankin, chairman of organizing committee, interviewed in foyer] The formation of independent organizations such as this is inevitable. Our people are, it seems to me, already wary of bureaucracy and of the interests of the country being fragmented. This is why we wanted to conduct an independent study of defense and security problems such as would be answerable to itself alone, which would not come under any government department, and which would represent the interest of those people gathered at it. We intend to draw up an action report for the USSR Supreme Soviet, which has now, as you know, started to tackle the questions of perestroyka in the Army very energetically.

[Ponomarev] What specific benefit will Soviet people derive from this—not military men and experts, but mothers and their sons who will then go off to serve in the Army?

[Pankin] Our expert group is, I think, a step along the way toward making defense in our country reliable and nondestructive, toward there being an army in which people want to serve, which people are not compelled by force to join, and which really does enjoy nationwide respect and prestige.

[Ponomarev] The participants of the expert group were divided into committees on specific topics. The commissions started work today. [end recording]